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ON THE VERY IDEA OF THE PALI CANON

In memory of I.B. Horner[1]

In this paper I address the issue of the formation and role of the Pali Canon[2] in Theravāda history and culture. My perspective is strictly that of an external observer wishing to make a contribution to historical scholarship, or at least to initiate an academic discussion of the issue: I mean to imply no evaluation whatsoever of any way in which the Canon has been or is seen by Theravāda Buddhists. From this perspective and for these purposes, I want to suggest that the role of the Canonical texts in Theravāda tradition has been misunderstood, and that the usual scholarly focus on the early period of Theravāda is misplaced. We must, I will suggest, reject the equation 'the Pali Canon = Early Buddhism',[3] and move away from an outmoded and quixotic concern with origins to what I would see as a properly focussed and realistic historical perspective. Rather than pre-existing the Theravāda school, as the textual basis from which it arose and which it sought to preserve, the Pali Canon — by which I mean the closed list of scriptures with a special and specific authority as the avowed historical record of the Buddha's teaching — should be seen as a *product* of that school, as part of a strategy of legitimation by the monks of the Mahāvihāra lineage in Ceylon in the early centuries of the first millenium A.D.

It seems to me useful to divide Theravāda Buddhist history into three periods, according to the different kinds of evidence which are available to us.[4] The first or 'early' period lasts from the time of the Buddha (whenever that was) to that of Aśoka. We have no evidence of any kind which can be securely dated before Aśoka; to describe, speculatively, pre-Aśokan Buddhism, we must make inferences from his inscriptions, from the texts (whose extant form is due to the later period) and perhaps also from the material remains of later times. From the time of Aśoka onwards, in the second or 'middle' period, in addition to an

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increasing amount of textual materials we have inscriptions, coins, paintings, sculptures and other material remains to supplement and when necessary correct what the texts tell us. The third or 'modern' period refers to those recent centuries in which we have, in addition to material and textual primary sources, reports from western travellers, officials of imperial governments, anthropologists and others, as well as the modern records kept by indigenous rulers and bureaucracies. Much of the evidence for 'early', pre-Aśokan Buddhism is to be found in the Pali Canonical texts, or rather some of them; but in assessing the nature of this evidence we must be much more fully aware of their provenance in the 'traditional' Theravāda context than has hitherto been the case.[5] In the first part of the paper, I shall outline two senses of the word 'canon', and then look for comparable terms in Pali. In the second, I shall sketch in broad brush-strokes what I see as the context in which the Pali Canon emerged; and in conclusion I shall ask briefly what role has in fact been played by this Canon, and — more significantly — by the idea of such a Canon, in those religious cultures we denote by the short-hand term, 'Theravāda'.

I

The word 'canon', in relation to textual materials, can usefully be taken in two ways[6]: first, in a general sense, as an equivalent to 'scripture' (oral or written). Used in this way, the term does not specify that the collection of texts so designated constitutes a closed list; it merely assigns a certain authority to them, without excluding the possibility that others could be, or may come to be included in the collection. In the second sense, however, the idea of a 'canon' contains precisely such an exclusivist specification that it is *this* closed list of texts, *and no others*, which are the 'foundational documents'. The existence of some sort of scriptural or canonical materials in the non-specific, inclusivist sense is surely a necessary condition for a religion to be or have what anthropologists used to call a 'Great Tradition'. But the existence of a canon in the second, exclusivist sense is, on the contrary, a

non-universal and contingent feature, dependent on the specific history of a given milieu which produces the selection and redaction of such a closed list. When compared with other extant collections of scriptures in Buddhism, I think the Pali Canon is unique in being an exclusive, closed list. Why did such a canon develop in traditional Theravāda Buddhism?

First, what Pali terms might correspond to 'canon'? There are three main candidates: the word *pāli* itself, the notion of the *tipiṭaka*, 'the three baskets' of tradition, and most importantly, the concept of *buddha-vacana*, 'the Buddha's Word(s)'.

(i) As is well-known, the word *pāli* was not originally the name of a language, but a term meaning firstly a line, bridge or causeway, and thence a 'text'.[7] It is often found in apposition to *aṭṭhakathā*, which is usually translated 'commentary', and so some scholars have taken *pāli* to mean 'canon'.[8] I would not want to disagree with this, if the term is used in the general and inclusivist sense of 'scripture' outlined above. But the primary use of the distinction between *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā* is not to classify documents into different categories (although it did come to have that function: e.g. Sp 549, Sv 581), and still less to denote explicitly a closed list of texts, as the terms 'canon' and 'commentary' might imply; rather, it was to distinguish between the precise wording of a text, in the text-critical sense, and the more flexible task of 'saying what it means', which is the literal translation of *aṭṭhakathā*.[9] *Pāli* and *aṭṭha* are regularly applied to texts in this way (e.g. Mp IV 187, Th-a II 135-6 et freq.); these terms are often given in commentarial exegesis of the pair *dhamma* and *attha* (e.g. Pj II 333, 604, Ja II 351, VI 223; compare the 'four-fold profundity' at Sp 22 and Sv 20, the former using *pāli*, the latter *tanti*). *Pāli* can be used synonymously with *pāṭha*, 'text', in the sense of 'reading', often when discussing variants (e.g. Sv 49, Ud-a 105-6, Th-a II 203).[10] Quotations can be introduced by phrases such as *tatrāyaṃ pāli*, 'on this matter (there is) this text', (e.g. Sp 13, 395, Spk I 200, Th-a III 105); the term *pāli-vaṇṇanā*, 'text-commentary', can be used in the same

way as *pada-vaṇṇanā*, 'word-commentary' (Sv 771, 982, Mp II 306), both of which are complementary to *vinicchaya-kathā*, 'exegesis' or *aṭṭha-vaṇṇanā*, 'explanation of the meaning' (Vibh-a 291, Vism 16, Pj I 123 foll.). *Pāli* can refer to the text of a specific individual work, as *Udāna-pāli* (Ud-a 4) or *Apadāna-pāli* (Th-a II 201, III 204). The phrases *pāliyaṃ* (*an*)*āgata* (or (*an*)*ārūḷha*) are used to mean '(not) handed down in a/the text', referring to textual passages, topics and names of people (e.g. Sp 466, 841, 1112, Sv 989, Mp I 272, IV 143, Th-a I 44, III 203); the term *pālimuttaka*, 'not found in a (the) text(s) is used both of sermons by the Buddha not rehearsed at the Councils and thus not extant (Sv 539, Ud-a 419-20, cp. Sv 238, 636, Spk I 201) and of Disciplinary decisions and rulings in use by the monkhood but not found in the text of the Vinaya itself (Sp 294 et freq.). In none of these uses, however, does the term in itself imply that the texts so referred to are a closed list.[11]

(ii) The term *piṭaka* is usually taken to mean 'basket'.[12] If this is in fact the same word as *piṭaka* meaning 'basket',[13] then it is intriguing to speculate on what could be the metaphor underlying its use to mean 'tradition', given that one cannot literally put oral 'texts' in baskets: Trenckner (1908, pp. 119-121) held that just as in excavations or digging work in ancient India, baskets of earth were passed along a row of labourers, so the Buddhist tradition was passed along a line of transmission, in *piṭakas*, from teacher to pupil. Winternitz (1933, pp. 8-9 note 3) suggested that the idea is of 'receptacles in which gems, family treasures, were preserved from generation to generation'. In any case, we must agree, I think, with Rhys Davids (who accepted Trenckner's view, (1894), p. 28) that the term *tipiṭaka* refers to 'three bodies of oral tradition as handed down from teacher to pupil'. It is, perhaps, not necessary to see a metaphor underlying the term: just as the term *āgama*, in both Sanskrit and Pali, means colourlessly 'something which has come down', 'a text', and *saṃhitā* in Sanskrit means 'a putting together, a sequence, a collection (of words, ideas, etc.)' and hence 'a text', so *piṭaka* can simply mean 'a collection (of words, stories, etc.)' and hence 'a (part

of a) tradition'.[14] The word is used in canonical texts to mean a 'tradition' or 'customary form' of religious teaching: but interestingly, in a pejorative sense, as a poor second-best to personal spiritual experience and knowledge.[15] The earliest extant uses of the word *tipiṭaka* date from inscriptions and texts of the 1st century A.D.[16] At this period, I think, it should be taken to denote not three closed lists of documents, but rather three different genres within the tradition; and to point to generic differences in style and content in the Disciplinary Rules (*Vinaya-piṭaka*), the Discourses (*Sutta-piṭaka*) and the 'Further Teachings' (*Abhidhamma-piṭaka*). This tripartite division continues another, said in the canon to have existed during the Buddha's lifetime: the division of labour between *vinaya-*, *sutta-*, and *māṭika-dhara-*s, 'those who bear (in memory) the disciplinary rules, the teachings and the mnemonic lists'.[17] Clearly during the Buddha's lifetime, there can have been no closed canon[18]: and I agree with Lamotte (58, p. 164), when he says that 'all that the classification of scripture into three baskets does is to attest to the existence within the religious community of three different specialisms, having for their objects the doctrine, the discipline and scholastic matters (*la scolastique*) respectively'. Eventually, of course, the term *tipiṭaka* did indeed come to have the sense of a closed and fixed Canon.[19]

(iii) Originally, then, neither *pāli* nor *tipiṭaka* referred to a closed canon. This is true also of the third term *buddha-vacana*, 'The Word of the Buddha'; but here we do begin to approach something like our ideas of a 'canon' and 'canonical authority'.[20] The term, and other words and phrases referring to 'what was said by the Buddha' can be found in the Canonical texts.[21] One of Aśoka's inscriptions reads *e keci bhaṃte bhagavatā budhena bhaṣite save se subhāsite vā*, 'everything which was said by the Blessed One, the Buddha, was well-said'.[22] The idea behind these terms can be, and has been taken in Buddhism in two crucially different ways. On the one hand it can be used, as it most commonly has been in the extant Mahāvihārin tradition of Theravāda, to mean the actual word(s) of the historical Buddha Gotama — despite the fact that it has

always been evident that the the collection of texts so designated includes many which cannot have been actually spoken by him (those spoken by other monks before and after his death, for example). For this reason and others, on the other hand, there is also an historically unspecific sense of the term, which refers in general to the — eternal and eternally renewable — salvific content of Buddhist Teaching: to use a phrase ubiquitous in the Canon, it refers to the 'spirit' (*attha*) rather than the mere 'letter' (*vyañjana*) of the Buddha's law (*dhamma*).

This non-historicist approach to scriptural authority, although not absent from Theravāda, is much more characterisic of Mahāyāna traditions, where the eternal truth of the Dharma may be revealed in texts of any and every historical provenance. The attitude is nicely captured in the phrase 'whatever is well-spoken is spoken by the Buddha'.[23] A *sutta* from the Aṅguttara Nikāya (A IV 162-66), contains this phrase, and is worth looking at in more detail.[24] It describes a conversation between the monk Uttara and the king of the gods, Sakka (Indra). Indra is impressed with a talk he has been told of, given by Uttara to some monks; he descends from heaven and asks Uttara whether what he said was own inspiration (*sakaṃ paṭibhānaṃ*) or the word of the Buddha (*Bhagavato vacanaṃ*). Uttara replies with a simile: 'it is just as if there were a great heap of grain near some village or town, and people were to take grain from it in buckets or baskets (*piṭakehi*), in their laps or hands. If one were to go up to these people and ask them "where are you bringing this grain from ?", how would they properly explain themselves ?' Indra replies that they would do so simply by saying that they got the grain from the heap. Uttara explains 'in the same way, king of the gods, whatever is well-spoken is all the word of the Blessed One ... Whenever I or others preach, what we say is derived from there' (*yaṃ kiñci subhāsitaṃ sabban taṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ ... , tato upādāy' upādāya mayañ c' aññe ca bhaṇāma*). (The choice of *bhaṇati* here is not accidental: *bhāṇa* and other derivatives are regularly used both for sermons and for the recitation of passages from the canonical texts.) Clearly the point of the remark here is

simply that Uttara is saying that what he teaches comes from the Buddha; but grammatically there would be nothing wrong with interpreting his remark in the Mahāyānist sense. (In contrast, the inscription of Aśoka cited above is unambiguously *not* the Mahāyānist sentiment, since it serves as an introduction to his list of recommended texts (see below, and notes 22, 27): the logic of the edict is that 'everything said by the Buddha was well-said, but these texts are especially good ... '.) Why then did what has become Theravāda 'orthodoxy' choose to emphasise an historicist and exclusivist idea of its 'Canon', 'the Buddha's Word(s)' ?

II

For the sake of brevity, I will present my argument schematically. Before the 1st century B.C., all Buddhist texts are said to have been preserved orally[25]; there is a large amount of evidence from a wide variety of sources, mutually contradictory for the most part, which suggests that a series of meetings were held, usually called 'Councils' in English but more precisely 'Communal Recitations' (*saṅgīti*), one of whose functions was for monks to recite together the scriptures, whatever they were.[26] Apart from Aśoka's inscription which mentions by name some texts still extant,[27] however, we simply have no idea which texts in fact pre-date Aśoka, and which might have been thus recited. The traditional account has it that Pali texts were transmitted to Ceylon in the 3rd.century B.C., along with commentaries, and there again to have been preserved orally (the commentaries being translated into and elaborated in Sinhalese). Both texts and commentaries were then written down during the (second) reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, between 29 and 17 B.C.[28] (see below). The following two statements, both written by staunchly orthodox modern Theravādins, make it clear that we cannot know the relation between 'the canon' as we now have it and the canon as it was being transmitted at this time; still less can we know that this canon was thought of in the closed, exclusivist sense. Malalasekara writes, in his standard work *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (1928, p. 44),

'how far the Tipiṭaka and its commentary reduced to writing at Ālu-vihāra resemble them as they have come down to us today no-one can say'. In fact, the earliest date to which we can assign the Canon in the specific and final form in which we now have it is the time of Buddhaghosa. As Walpola Rāhula observes in his History of Buddhism in Ceylon (1956, p. xix):

> 'Although there is evidence to prove the growth of the Pali Scriptures during the early centuries of Buddhism in India and Ceylon, there is no reason to doubt that their growth was arrested and the text was finally fixed in the 5th century A.C. when the Sinhalese Commentaries on the Tipiṭaka were translated into Pali by Buddhaghosa'.[29]

The Pali Canon, like most other religious Canons, was produced in a context of dispute, here sectarian monastic rivalries. King Vaṭṭagāmiṇī supported the rivals of the Mahāvihārin monks, those of the recently founded Abhayagiri monastery. (In the 4th century there arose a third sub-sect, the Jetavana group, but my focus here will be on the Mahāvihāra-Abhayagiri rivalry.[30]) Both groups existed throughout the first millenium, up until king Parakkamabāhu I suppressed the others in favour of the Mahāvihāra in the 12th century (the extant Mahāvihārin texts call this his 'unification' of the monkhood); and at certain periods Abhayagiri was clearly the more numerous and dominant. With some disputed exceptions,[31] no Abhayagiri texts survive, although texts and commentaries are ascribed to them (directly or indirectly) in extant Mahāvihārin works.[32] We can trace, I think, a significant difference between Mahāvihārin texts written before Parakkamabāhu's 'reform' and those written after: that is, in the direction of an increasingly triumphalist re-writing of earlier history.

One area where this change is particularly evident is in accounts of the writing down of the canon: the earliest versions are remarkably

brief and restrained, giving little idea of the real reasons for this development, to us so significant.[33] The *Dīpavaṃsa* (XX 20-1) and *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIII 100-1) have exactly the same stanzas:

> *piṭakattayapāliñ ca tassā aṭṭhakathaṃ pi ca*
> *mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī;*
> *hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā*
> *ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ.*
>
> 'Previously, intelligent monks (had) preserved the text of the three piṭakas and its commentary orally; but (now) when the monks saw the *hāni* of beings they came together and had them[34] written in books, in order that the Teaching should endure for a long time.'

The word *hāni*, which I have left untranslated, means 'loss', 'decay', 'diminution', 'abandonment', etc. The issue here is how to take it in context. The *Dīpavaṃsa* account places these stanzas in the midst of what is more or less a list of kings, with minimal narrative embellishment. It mentions Vaṭṭagāmanī, but simply gives the bare details of his accessions to the throne (he was king twice), and the length of his reign. Oldenberg's translation (1879, p. 211) has 'decay', Law's (1959, p. 249) 'loss', neither of which attempts to interpret the term. The *Mahāvaṃsa* places the stanzas immediately after its account of the secession of the monk Mahātissa, and the subsequent split between the two monastic fraternities. Mindful of this perhaps, Geiger (1912, p. 237) translates *hāni* as 'falling away (from religion)'. In modern secondary works, there has arisen a tendency to associate the writing of the texts most closely with conditions of war and famine, and so to translate *hāni* as 'decrease (in numbers)', or more generally 'disastrous state'.[35] This seems first to have been suggested by Adikaram (1946, Chap. 4); Rāhula's account (1956, pp. 81-2, 157-8) is very frequently cited in other secondary works. These authors recount stories concerning war between Sinhalese

and Tamil kings, and a famine associated with a brahmin turned bandit called Tissa.[36] The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions Tissa briefly earlier in the Chapter (XXXIII, 37-41), but not the famine.

Although it is quite plausible to connect the decision to commit the texts to writing with the troubled conditions of the time, it is worth noticing that this is not given as a reason in any of the primary sources, early or late.[37] Adikaram himself suggests (pp. 115 foll.) that conditions in Rohaṇa, in the south of the island, may not have been as bad as in the north; and as Gunawardana (1982) has shown, it is anachronistic to think of the island at this period as a single state centred at Anurādhapura. I suggest, not necessarily a replacement for their account but perhaps as a complement to it, that we follow the *Mahāvaṃsa* and associate the writing of the texts and commentaries with the contemporary rivalry between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri monasteries; and I would argue that at least one of the motives for the decision was the fixation, through writing, of a definitive list of scriptures, at a time when the position of the Mahāvihāra as sole legitimate custodians of Buddhism was under threat.[38] Certainly in the following centuries, one of the major themes in Mahāvihārin writing about its rivals concerns their use of 'heterodox' scriptures, in addition to the Pali texts shared by all three groups. It seems that at least from the 3rd century A.D., and perhaps before, the Abhayagiri monks used what we would now call Mahāyāna texts[39]; it is revealing that this is standardly referred to by their Mahāvihārin opponents as their embracing the *vetulla-vāda*. The term *vetulla*, Sanskrit *vaitulya* or *vaipulya*, meaning 'extended' or 'enlarged', refers to the great extent of certain Mahāyāna scriptures.[40] Later triumphalist chronicles condemn with increasing vehemence the heresy of these unacceptable texts, and tell of repeated book-burnings by pro-Mahāvihārin kings.[41]

In the 5th century the great Indian monk Buddhaghosa spent some time in Ceylon at the Mahāvihāra, writing what are now the standard Pali commentarial works, on the basis of the earlier Sinhalese

texts.[42] This also took place during the reign of a king who supported the Abhayagiri, Mahānāma (409-431). Thus Adikaram (1946, p. 94) aptly remarks:

> 'It is worthy of notice that the two most important events, namely, the writing down of the Pali texts at Āloka-vihāra and the translation of the Commentaries into Pali, both took place during the reigns of kings who were not favourably disposed towards the Mahāvihāra and who actively helped the opposing camp, the Abhayagirivihāra'.

The account in the *Cūlavaṃsa*, written after Parakkamabāhu I and in part as a panegyric on him, tells us that when Buddhaghosa had produced his digest of Theravāda scholasticism, the *Visuddhimagga*, the Mahāvihārin elders exclaimed 'assuredly, he is Metteyya (the future Buddha) (*nissaṃsayaṃ sa Metteyyo*); then when he had rendered their commentaries into Pali, they are said to have received them *pāliṃ viya*, literally 'just as (or 'as if they were') Canonical texts', or more loosely 'as the authoritative version'.[43] The parallelism is obvious: the Buddha Gotama produced the Texts (*pāli*) as *buddha-vacana*, 'the Buddha Metteyya' produces an authoritative redaction of the commentaries, *pāliṃ viya*![44]

Finally, I think we should see the writing and fixing of a closed canon in relation to the creation of historical chronicles in Ceylon: the *vaṃsa* tradition.[45] The term *vaṃsa* (Sanskrit *vaṃśa*) was used in India for a variety of forms of historical text, primarily genealogies, from the time of the Brāhmaṇas. Another meaning of the term is 'bamboo', and I think we may see some significance in this. Bamboo grows by sending out one, and only one, shoot: unlike our concept of a genealogical tree, therefore, a *vaṃśa* genealogy allows only one legitimate successor at a time. Thus the term not only describes a line of transmission, but at the same time ascribes to the members of the *vaṃśa* a specific status and authority as

legitimate heirs of that transmission. In the tradition of *purāṇa* writing, two of the traditional five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) alleged to be present in any such text are *vaṃśa* and *vaṃśānucarita*; the former term refers to a genealogy of gods, patriarchs, kings and great families, the latter to the deeds of such a *vaṃśa*. (How far these five characteristics actually do apply to the extant *purāṇa*s is a complex issue.) The texts in question here are not only the great compendia of mythology, theology, etc., concerning various great gods such as Viṣṇu and Śiva; they include also, amongst others, a little-studied genre of regional, caste *purāṇa*s, about which Ludo Rocher says, in his recent book on the subject (1986, p. 72):

> Even though this type of texts relate to single castes in limited areas of the subcontinent, they are again not fundamentally different from purāṇic literature generally ... [then, quoting another writer:] The caste-purāṇas may be considered to be the extension of *Vaṃśānucarita*, in the sense that they devote themselves to the history of some *Vaṃśa*, in the broad sense'.

I suggest that we see the Pali chronicles in this perspective as a part of the literary genre of the *purāṇa* in the widest sense, listing the genealogy and deeds of the lineage of the Buddha and his heritage. In addition, both by their very existence and by such details of their content as the stories of visits by the Buddha to the different Theravāda lands, the *vaṃsa* texts produced in Ceylon and later in mainland Southeast Asia served the *heilsgeschichtliche* purpose of connecting these areas with India. More specifically, as Heinz Bechert has argued (1978), the early examples in Ceylon may have served the political purpose of enhancing and encouraging Sinhalese nationalism. It has long been recognised that the ideology of these *vaṃsa* texts is that of the *dhammadīpa*, the island which the Buddha prophesied would be the historical vehicle of his saving truth.[46]

It has often been noted that the dominant Theravāda attitude to its scriptures, unlike other Buddhist groups, is an historicist one; but it has not been noticed, I think, that this development coincides with the production by Theravāda monks of what Bechert calls the only 'historical literature in the strict sense of the word [in South Asia] prior to the period of the Muslim invasions'.[47] The earlier Sinhalese commentarial materials, shared by both Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri groups, contained *vaṃsa* sections, and there may have been at least one specifically Abhayagiri *vaṃsa*[48]; but a particular characteristic of the development of the Mahāvihāra tradition is its rich and varied collection of these texts, usually called 'Chronicles' in English. There were probably many different reasons for their being produced, and it is true that earlier Sanskrit and Pali works with *vaṃsa* sections were preserved orally. Nonetheless I suggest that a revealing perspective on the issue can be gained from the comparative historical and anthropological study of literacy, where it is widely recognised that one of the earliest functions of writing was the making of lists.[49] I suggest that both the idea of a fixed and closed Canon and the *vaṃsa* genre may be seen together as members of the same class: the 'list'. The *vaṃsa* genre is descended from name-lists (genealogies) and event-lists (annals); the closed 'canon' is also descended from name-lists and word-lists, but adds to the simple idea of a list of texts (a librarian's concern, in itself) the crucial political element of closure: nothing can be added or taken away.

In brief, then, I argue that the following four developments in the Theravāda tradition, taking place over the first half of the first millenium A.D., are related, not only conceptually and historically, but also as connected parts of a strategy of self-definition and self-legitimation by the Mahāvihārin monks:

(i) the writing down of the canon and commentaries;
(ii) the production of a closed and historically specific canon of scripture;
(iii) the standardisation of authoritative commentaries, and
(iv) the development of the historiographical tradition of *vaṃsa* texts.

(Incidentally, not only might we explain the creation of a fixed Canon by this historicism; it may be that this form of religious legitimation was one reason for the birth, or at least the first real flourishing of historiography in South Asian culture at this place and time.)

There have been, of course, other forms of legitimation in Theravāda, notably the possession and control of relics and images.[50] But one of the most salient characteristics of the Mahāvihārin lineage has always been its conservative and/or reformist, text-oriented self-definition; this was significantly underlined and extended, both in Buddhism and in Buddhist scholarship, by the modern 'scripturalism' specific to the 19th and 20th centuries.[51] It is well-known that Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia includes many more things than are described and prescribed in the Pali Canon; these are often seen as 'later developments', many of which are standardly but misleadingly referred to as 'Mahāyāna elements'. Rather than see things in this way, I suggest, we should take this wider Buddhist culture as the contemporary context in which the move to an historicist 'orthodoxy' was made. We know that the Mahāvihārin lineage became ultimately dominant in Ceylon; and throughout its spread across mainland Southeast Asia as 'Sinhala' Buddhism, it seems to have been perceived precisely as a 'reform' movement, and to have been supported by kings with this rhetoric against already-existing forms of Buddhism.[52] Within established Theravāda cultures, again, periodic reform movements have taken place, with the same rhetoric; and this is one important ingredient in Buddhist modernism: 'back to the Canon !' (Something like this seems to be happening in the Theravāda revival in contemporary Nepal.[53])

III

But what role did the actual Canon play in all this ? Did these and only these texts function as 'scripture', with no others having canonical authority in the first and more general sense I distinguished earlier ? No.

We know that throughout Theravāda history, up to and including the modern world, many other texts, both written and in oral-ritual form, have been used.[54] The evidence suggests that both in so-called 'popular' practice and in the monastic world, even among virtuosos, only parts of the Canonical collection have ever been in wide currency, and that other texts have been known and used, sometimes very much more widely.[55] Keyes writes (1983, p. 272):

> 'The relevance of texts to religious dogma in the worldview of any people cannot be assumed simply because some set of texts have been recognized as belonging to a particular religious tradition. It is necessary, in every particular case, to identify those texts that can be shown to be the sources of dogmatic formulations that are being communicated to the people through some medium. There is no single integrated textual tradition based on a "canon" to the exclusion of all other texts ... . The very size and complexity of a canon leads those who use it to give differential emphasis to its component texts. Moreover, even those for whom a defined set of scriptures exists will employ as sources of religious ideas many texts which do not belong to a canon. For example, the evidence from monastery libraries in Laos and Thailand ... reveals that what constitutes the Theravādin dhamma for people in these areas includes only a small portion of the total Tipiṭaka, some semi-canonical commentaries such as Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, a large number of pseudo-jātaka and other pseudo-canonical works, histories of shrines and other sacred histories, liturgical works, and popular commentaries. Moreover, for any particular temple-monastery in Thailand or Laos, the collection of texts available to the people in the associated community are not exactly the same as those found in another temple-monastery. In brief, the relevance of textual formulations to religious dogma in popular worldviews is problematic in each specific case'.[56]

It might well be that the content of most smaller monastery libraries is in effect a 'ritual canon'; that is, it contains the texts, canonical or otherwise, which are in actual use in ritual life in the area concerned.[57] A monastic library with larger holdings may perhaps be compared to a modern academic library: for those few who happen to have access to it, it affords a seemingly obvious and straightforward resource, which provides and defines a cultural 'world'; but one which gives a wildly misleading picture of the actual experience (literate, cultural, religious and otherwise) of those communities without such access.

If we wish to delineate the actual 'canon' or 'canons' of scripture (in the wider sense) in use at different times and places of the Theravāda world, we need empirical research into each individual case, not a simple deduction from the existence of the closed *tipiṭaka* produced by the Mahāvihāra. We need more research, for example, historical and ethnographic, on the actual possession and use of texts, in monastery libraries and elsewhere, and on the content of sermons and festival presentations to laity, to establish more clearly than we currently can just what role has been played by the works included in the canonical list. The hypothesis I have sketched out here suggests that the actual importance of what we know as the Pali Canon has not lain in the specific texts collected in that list, but rather in the *idea* of such a collection, the idea that one lineage has the definitive list of *buddha-vacana*.[58] So the Pali Canon should be seen as just a 'canon' (in one sense of that word) in Pali, one amongst others.

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NOTES

[1] In 1981, when I had the honour to be invited to serve on the Council of the Pali Text Society, my first task was to prepare for publication Miss I.B. Horner's last work, an unfinished translation of fifty stories originating from Chieng Mai in Thailand in the fifteenth century, and very closely modelled on the canonical Jātaka tales. She was working from the draft of the edition made by P.S. Jaini, which was subsequently published by the PTS as *Paññāsa Jātaka* (vol. 1, 1981; vol. 2, 1983). Professor Jaini also completed the translation. In choosing a title for the translation volumes, we followed a suggestion found in Miss Horner's notes for the work, where she referred to it as 'Apocryphal Birth Stories'; the volumes were published thus in 1985 (vol. 1) and 1986 (vol. 2). At that time Professor Jaini and I discussed, without coming to a clear conclusion, the issue of what is really meant in a Buddhist context by the opposition between 'canonical' and 'apocryphal' texts; at his instigation, I included in the brief preface to Volume 1 some notes on the background in Christian usage of the term 'apocryphal'. This paper is a preliminary result of the research inspired by those initial discussions. It was first given, under the present title, as the Second I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture for the PTS in London, September 1987. I am glad to be able to publish it here in memory of Miss Horner, whose contribution both to Pali studies in general and to the PTS in particular has been so great. My title is adapted from the philosophical paper by Donald Davison, 'On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme' (reprinted in Davison 1984).

[2] References to Pāli texts use the abbreviations of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

[3] The general tenor of the re-evaluation I am recommending here is very much in line with the work being produced by Gregory Schopen, who has shown that for so many things either not found or not emphasised in the Canon, and usually seen as 'later' developments, there is in fact extensive evidence in the earliest archaeological and epigraphical remains: see, for example Schopen 1984, 1985 and 1989.

[4] I have discussed this further in Collins (1990). The first two of my three periods are similar to those identified by Heinz Bechert (e.g. 1966, 1973, 1979, 1985) as 'early' and 'traditional'; but his criterion for division and designation is the relation of the monastic community to society, and my third, 'modern' period does not correspond to his third, 'modernist' one. (I am grateful to Prof. Bechert for clarifying this issue, in correspondence.)

[5] I agree wholeheartedly with the suggestions made about the value of the commentaries in this regard by Bond (1980). Certain arguments from the content of the Canon do, I think, have force. For example, apart from a few *Suttas* which deal with the 'mythical' figure of the Universal Emperor, the *cakkavatti*,

the texts do not betray any knowledge of large-scale political units such as that of Aśoka. (I use the word 'mythical' here in the same way as Gombrich (1988, p. 82); cf. also pp. 20-21 on this subject.) Anachronism of various sorts is not usually a problem in Buddhist literature; and so it would seem likely that these texts, in general, do indeed come from pre-Aśokan times. But this kind of argumentation is very complex, and of course we cannot know that because something is not in the texts, it did not exist: the history of Hindu literature furnishes many counter-examples. (See further note 25 below.)

[6] In the argument of this paragraph I have profited from articles by Sheppard (1987) and, especially, Olivelle (unpubl. ms.). Sheppard writes that 'on the one hand, [the term "canon"] can be used to refer to a rule, standard, ideal, norm, or authoritative office or literature, whether oral or written. On the other hand, it can signify a temporary or perpetual fixation, standardization, enumeration, listing, chronology, register, or catalog of exemplary or normative persons, places, or things [and, in our case, texts]. The former dimension emphasizes internal signs of an elevated status. The latter puts stress on the precise boundary, limits, or measure of what ... belongs within or falls outside of a specific "canon"'.

In proposing a closely related distinction, Olivelle argues that 'a canon, like an orthodoxy, may be exclusive or inclusive. An exclusive canon both lists the documents included in the scripture and implicitly or explicitly excludes all other documents; the canon is a closed list. An inclusive canon also has a list of documents contained in the scriptures. But it makes no claim to be exhaustive. The list merely has a positive function and it does not intend to exclude documents outside the list. In cases such as the [Indian] Veda, the tradition explicitly admits the possibility that there may exist other documents belonging to the Veda. Other traditions, such as most oral ones, may simply ignore the issue. In all cases of inclusive canons, however, the traditions do not feel the need to precisely demarcate the canonical boundaries'. McDermott (1984, p. 32) remarks aptly that 'the Mahāyāna *Sūtras* in India fit into a more Sanskritized concept of scripture and canon (or lack thereof) than does the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka*'.

[7] The metaphor here, as in other words for texts meaning 'line', 'thread', etc. (e.g. *gantha, tanti,* and *sutta,* if this is indeed equivalent to Sanskrit *sūtra*), seems rarely if ever to remain alive in the use of the term. One use of the term in parts of the *Manoratha-pūraṇī* may preserve a sense of 'line' or 'list'. The *Aṅguttara* text names a series of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, each of whom is said to be 'pre-eminent' in some sphere. At the end of each commentarial section, the text states *therapālivaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā* (Mp I 337), (and similarly) *theripāli-* (381),

theripāli- (381), *upāsakapāli-* (401), *upāsikāpāli-* (458). (There are variant readings *therapāḷiyā, therīpāḷiyā,* and *upāsikāpāḷiyā* (sic) *vaṇṇanā* in the first three places.) This may be translated, taking the first example, 'the commentary on the list of elders is completed', instead of simply 'the commentary on the text of (or about) elders ... .' At the beginning of the commentaries on the last three 'lists', the text states *therīpāliyaṃ pathame* (337), *upāsakapāliyaṃ* (482 — *pathame* must have been accidentally omitted here; there is a v.l. *upāsakapāli-vaṇṇanāya pathame*), and *upāsikāpāliyaṃ pathame* (401). *Pathame* cannot agree with *-pāliyaṃ* (or *-vaṇṇanāya*); there must be some appropriate masculine noun implied (such as *sutta*: see A I 23 note 3), so that we may translate 'in the first *sutta* in the list of (or text about) nuns (laymen, laywomen)'. The v.l. at 337, *therīpāliyā,* which could be genitive, makes this rendering easier, 'in the first *sutta* of the list (text) of nuns'. (Cp. e.g. Mp II 34 *catutthavaggassa pathame.*) At Mp I 29 there is *rūpapāli,* at II 1 *aṭṭhānapāliyaṃ* (v.l. *-pāliyā*); at II 18 *aṭṭhānapālivaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā* and, beginning the next section, *ekadhammapāliyaṃ.*

Filliozat proposed that in the compounds *pāli-bhāsā* and its equivalent *tanti-bhāsā* (Sanskrit *tantra*) both first terms should be understood as referring literally to 'lines', i.e. lines of the text in manuscripts (1981, p. 108). This would be extremely important if it could be shown to be true; it would, for example, render problematic the whole tradition which says that both *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā* were transmitted orally before the 1st century B.C. But I know of no evidence to support the hypothesis: Filliozat's brief discussion, ibid. note 21, is simply an argument from analogy. At one place in the Jātaka, VI 353, the term *pāli* is used of what is clearly an oral (and non-religious) 'text' (cf. von Hinüber (1977, p. 244)).

[8] E.g. Norman (1983, p. 1), von Hinüber (1977, p. 243).

[9] In this connexion, Frauwallner's speculations on the oral nature of the early tradition are suggestive (1956, pp. 172-177, 189). Although he does not mention this, it seems to me highly probable that the structure he describes, of fixed (though not yet written) 'memorial sentences' fleshed out with freely composed 'oral explanations ... given not in Pāli but in the local language' was what lay behind the distinction between *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā.* (We have evidence for this structure in the modern period also: see Finot (1917, p. 41); Somadasa (1987, p. ix); Tambiah (1970, p. 166). This might also have helped to bring about the confusion between *pāli* as a word for 'text' and as the name of a language. (As I hope to show elsewhere, however, I remain quite unconvinced by the overall hypotheses of Frauwallner's work, not least because in the main body of the text he seems quite to forget the oral nature of the early tradition, in

arguing for a single text grandly and precisely conceived and organised by 'the author of the *Skandhaka*'.)

[10] von Hinüber, (1978, p. 52), gives an example where alternative readings of a word are cited in different manuscripts of a text, one of which calls the alternative reading a *pāṭha*, the other a *pāli*. In two versions of the same commentarial exegesis discussing variant readings, one (Th-a III 201) reads *pāli*, the other *pāṭho* (Pj II 350).

[11] Of course, by the time of Buddhaghosa the list of texts had come to be fixed, though not without disagreements (see Norman (1983, p. 9)), and thence *de facto* the term *pāli* was restricted to that list, at least in Ceylon, just as the term *aṭṭhakathā* came only to be used of commentaries on *pāli* texts, others being *ṭīkā*. A number of texts are sometimes said to have been added to the Canon in Burma: The *Sutta-saṅgaha, Netti-pakaraṇa, Peṭakopadesa, Milindapañha* (see Oldenberg (1882, p. 61); Bode (1909, p. 5); Duroiselle (1911, p. 121), who disagreed with Bode; Ñāṇamoli (1962, p. xii); and Bollée (1969, p. 494), who says that King Mindon's stone edition of the *tipiṭaka* contains the last three of these texts, as does the modern *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition). The word *pāli* is used of the *Sutta-saṅgaha* in Burmese manuscripts (Oldenberg (op. cit., p. 80); Fausbøll (1896, p. 31)). The *Netti-pakaraṇa*, which itself claims to have been composed by Mahākaccāna, praised by the Buddha and recited at the first Council (Nett 193), is called by its commentary a *pāli* (Nett, Intro. p. XI; see also Ñāṇamoli, op. cit., p. xi); and the commentary is classed as an *aṭṭhakathā* by the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 60). For the use of *pāli* in relation to the complex issue of the 'canonical' verses of the Jātaka, in opposition to the non-canonical and commentarial prose passages, see, for example, the references given by Fausbøll in Ja VII p. III, and the comments of Bollée (1970) Preface. In the commentary to the *Nidāna-kathā*, a prose section is referred to as a *pāli*, and an account of its *attha* is given (Ja I 7).

[12] One philosopher of religion has recently referred to the ('Eastern') 'Religions of the Baskets', in opposition to the ('Western') 'Religions of the Book': see Clark (1986), p. 16, etc.

[13] Tedesco, (1952, p. 209), suggests that it might not be.

[14] At Sp 20-21 Buddhaghosa explains the term as meaning either 'learning' (*pariyatti*) or 'a container' (*bhājana*), and says that the two senses are to be taken together in understanding, e.g. the term *Vinaya-piṭaka*. For remarks on the use of *piṭaka* in the title of the (canonical but probably post-Aśokan) *Cariyā-piṭaka*, see Horner (1975) Cp Preface pp. iii foll.

[15] *Piṭaka-sampadā* and *-sampadāna*, both meaning 'expertise in a tradition' are used in this way of the tradition of learning Vedic mantras (M II 169) and in a

general sense, as in the famous *Kālāma Sutta* (A I 189 foll.) and elsewhere (e.g. M I 520; A II 191 foll.).

[16] For inscriptions, see Lamotte (1958, pp. 163-64, 347-50), where the chronology is not clearly described (see Schopen (1985) pp. 10-11); the word *tipeṭakī* occurs in the *Parivāra* (Vin V 3), an 'appendix' to the *Vinaya* included in the canon but usually taken to have been produced in Ceylon in the 1st century A.D. The same date is often given for the occurrence of *tepiṭakaṃ buddhavacanaṃ* and *tepiṭako* in the *Milinda-pañha* (pp. 18, 90), although the dating of this text is far from easy: see Horner (1963, pp. xxi foll), Norman (1983, pp. 110-11).

[17] See Norman (1983, pp. 96-97). Individuals could, of course, become expert in all three branches.

[18] This is perhaps an appropriate place to deal with a well-known, but very problematic text, the passage of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (D II 123 foll., found also as a separate *sutta* at A I 167 foll.), dealing with the 'Four Appeals to Authority' (*cattāro mahāpadesā*) Here the Buddha is made to say that if a monk claims to have 'heard' (*sutaṃ*) and 'received' (*paṭiggahītaṃ*) from himself, the Saṅgha, a group of monks or a single monk, that 'this is *dhamma*, this is *vinaya*, this is the Teacher's Doctrine' (*satthu sāsanaṃ*), then what he says (*tāni pada-vyañjanāni*) is to be compared with the *Sutta* and *Vinaya*. It is true that, coming at the end of his life, we might be expected to assume that most of these two bodies of Teaching had by then been given; but it strains credulity to imagine that what is in question here is a straightforward checking of one 'text' against a known and fixed body of such texts, collected as the *Sutta-* and *Vinaya-piṭakas*. There would be a logical problem here of self-reference: according to its own criterion, this text itself could not be accepted, since at the time of its utterance it could not yet have been included in such fixed *piṭakas*, as could not all the other texts, including the *Mahāparinibbāna* itself, said to have been composed after the Buddha's death. Perhaps more seriously, it is quite unclear, to me at least, exactly what is the force of the terms I have paraphrased as 'to be compared': *otāretabbāni* and *sandassetabbāni*. Perhaps the most obvious way to take them is in the sense of a general conceptual and practical agreement (in 'spirit' as opposed to 'letter'). This is the way the *Netti-pakaraṇa* (pp. 21-22) interprets the *Sutta*. As the Buddha says elsewhere, 'those things ('doctrines', 'states of mind', *dhamme*) which you know lead to ... *nibbāna* you may preserve (*dhāreyyāsi*) as the *dhamma*, the *vinaya*, the Teacher's Doctrine' (*satthu sāsana*) (A IV 143). (See MacQueen (1981, pp. 314-15) on these texts.) But this leads one immediately to a non-specific, non-historicist interpretation of what dhamma and vinaya are, which would argue very much against either the existence or the

desirability of a fixed collection of texts. (See further text below, and notes 22-24, discussing Aśoka's edict and A IV 162-66.)

[19] For example, in Buddhaghosa's introduction to the *Samantapasādikā*; but note that he also says here that the *Vinaya-piṭaka* contains material not recited at the First Council (*pathamasaṅgītiyaṃ saṅgītaṅ ca asaṅgītaṅ ca* (Sp 18; cp. Sv 17); see also note 11 above). I suspect that the adjective *tipiṭakin*, when used in commentarial narratives not directly on the subject of the scriptures, often does not refer to those (presumably fairly rare) monks who had actually themselves memorised the entire corpus, but rather to that part of the Order whose allegiance was explicitly to the Mahāvihārin orthodoxy of the *Tipiṭaka*, as opposed both to those who used other texts, and to those ascetics and holy men in the yellow robe whose religious practice, and hence popular appeal, tended not to rely on books and the institutions which housed them, but on broader, less predictable and hence less controllable spiritual achievements. Arguing for this, however, must await another occasion.

[20] In writing of this term and its meaning, I have learned most from George Bond's rich and sympathetic treatments (e.g. 1975, 1982), and from MacQueen (1981) and McDermott (1984).

[21] Examples: *buddhavacana* at Vin IV 54, Th 403 (these seem to be the earliest uses; cf. also Mil 17); *bhagavato vacana* at A IV 163, 164; *buddhabhāsita* at Vin IV 15; *buddhassa sāsana* at Thī 202 et freq., Th 639; *buddhasāsana* at Dh 368, 381; *satthu-sāsana* at Vin I 12, D I 110, etc.; *tathāgata-bhāsita* at S II 267, A I 72.

[22] The Bhabrā inscription, cited from Bloch (1950, p. 154).

[23] The quotation is from the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana Sūtra*, cited in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (I 15): *yatkiṃcinmaitreya subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tadbuddhabhāṣitam*. Gomez (87a, see also 87b) provides a lucid overview of the different Buddhist attitudes to 'the Buddha's word', making reference a number of times to the issue of historicist and non-historicist hermeneutical strategies.

[24] This is discussed by both MacQueen (1981, p. 314) and McDermott (1984, pp. 28-30).

[25] The argument first put forward by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1885, pp. xxxii-xxxvi) must, I think, still stand: the *Vinaya* texts give minutely detailed accounts of the daily life of the monkhood, but although writing is certainly known in them, we never read, even obliquely, of monks writing scriptures or reading manuscripts. It is true that, as Gregory Schopen showed in the last volume of this journal (Vol. XIII, 1989), we cannot be sure that because something is not in the Pāli *Vinaya*, it did not exist. All other extant *Vinayas* apart from the Pāli contain rules concerning *stūpas*; but his close reading of

passages from the *Vinaya* itself, as well as from later Pāli and Sinhalese texts, suggests the strong possibility that in fact it did originally contain such rules. In the case of writing, however, none of the extant *Vinayas* describes monks as writing the scriptures, and so despite the fact that the argument is one from silence, and although it was originally based on the Pāli *Vinaya* alone, it has been supported by the discovery of other traditions. Brough (1962, pp. 28-29, 218 foll.) argues for the likelihood of a manuscript tradition of the verses now known as the *Dharmapada* (*Dhammapada*) earlier than the redaction of the Pāli version; although individually the examples of textual relationships he cites to prove 'a very early written transmission' seem to me less than compelling, common sense would suggest that the transition from oral to written would be gradual and piecemeal, rather than sudden and dramatic as the Chronicles' accounts tell us.

[26] The most recent brief account is Prebish (1987), with bibliography.

[27] The Bhabrā inscription cited above mentions seven texts, of which some have been identified with sections of the last two vaggas of the *Sutta-Nipāta*. See Lamotte (1958, pp. 256-59).

[28] Norman (1983, pp. 7-11) is a succinct survey; for a lengthier consideration of the evidence see Norman (1978).

[29] This fact renders futile, in my opinion, the work of those scholars who imagine that anything found in the Canon must be grist for the mill of 'early Buddhism', while anything in the commentaries is 'later' and therefore to be ignored in our search for the 'original Buddhism'. The fact is that the same tradition, at the same time and in the same place, has simultaneously preserved for us both the canon as we have it and the commentaries. No doubt, as said earlier (note 5), some judgements of relative chronology can be made on the basis of the internal evidence of these texts; but such judgements are always risky and piecemeal.

[30] See Gunawardana (1979, pp. 7-37).

[31] Three extant texts have been claimed to be Abhayagiri productions: the *Upāliparipṛcchā-sūtra*, which is said to have replaced the *Parivāra* of the Mahāvihārin *Vinaya* (see Stache-Rosen (1984), pp. 28 foll, with Bechert's Introduction pp. 11 foll., and Norman's review (1985)); and two later texts, the *Vimuttimagga* (see Norman (1983, pp. 113-14)) and the *Saddhammopāyana* (see Saddhātissa (1965, pp. 32-33, 59-64); Bechert (1976, p. 29 note 2); Norman (1983, pp. 159-60)).

[32] With the exception of a reference to an *Uttaravihāra-mahāvaṃsa* at Mhv-ṭ 134 (and assuming the Uttara-vihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra are identical), no texts are attributed directly to the Abhayagiri group in the commentaries. Other

works, including a *vetulla-piṭaka* (variously spelt: see text and note 40 below) are named in commentaries and said to be *abuddha-vacana*: at Sv 566 and Mp III 160 the *Guḷha-vessantara, Guḷha-ummagga, Guḷha-vinaya,* and *vedalla-piṭaka* are to be rejected since 'they do not conform with the Suttas' (*na sutte otaranti*, a phrase in the *Mahāpadesa Sutta,* here being commented on in both places). Sp 742 and Spk II 201-202 (for the *ṭikā* on this passage see Cousins (1972, p. 160)) add to these names the *Vaṇṇa-piṭaka, Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka, Raṭṭhapāla-gajjita,* and *Ālavaka-gajjita.* The *Nikāya-saṃgraha* (Fernando (1908, pp. 9-10)) lists these texts and others, assigns their composition to various schools in India, and says that only some came to Ceylon; these included the *vaitulya piṭaka* which it later says was adopted by the Abhayagirivihāra-vāsins. Adikaram, (1946, pp. 98-100), discusses these texts, and attempts to find versions in Chinese. It may be, as Rāhula suggests (1956, p. 90), that in the later period the term *vaitulya* came to be used in a general way to refer to any 'dissenting views and new interpretations not acceptable to the Mahāvihāra'. The commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions an *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* several times: see Geiger (1908, pp. 47 foll.); Malalasekera (1935, vol.1 pp. lxv-lxvii). The commentaries often discuss alternative views and interpretations, which may have been those of the Abhayagiri commentaries: see De Silva (1970, vol 1 p. lxvii foll.); Mori (1988).

[33] The change can be clearly seen by comparing the accounts in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa,* written in the 4th and 5th centuries, with those of the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (in Fernando (1908, p. 10-11)) and *Saddhamma-saṃgaha* (Chapter 6, JPTS (1890) pp. 46-50), written in the 14th.

[34] It seems natural to take both *piṭakattayapāliṃ* and *aṭṭhakathaṃ* as governed by *likhāpayuṃ* as well as *ānesuṃ*; and so we have both 'Canon' and Commentary written down for the first time together.

[35] Gombrich (1988, p. 152). The commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Mhv-ṭ 623) rather surprisingly glosses *hāniṃ* as 'the decline in mindfulness and wisdom of beings whose length of life is diminished in the Kali-age' (or perhaps simply '(that) unlucky time') *kalikāle parihīnāyukasattānaṃ sati-buddhiparihāniṃ*).

[36] The main texts used are Mv XXXIII 37 foll., Mp I 92-93, Vibh-a 445 foll.; the account at Mp I 92-93 uses the name Caṇḍālatissa but seems to be the same story. (See Malalasekara (1938) s.vv. Caṇḍālatissa-mahābhaya and Brahmaṇatissa-cora.)

[37] Both Adikaram and Rāhula give as an example of the threat posed 'during this period' by the famine the statement that only one monk was alive who knew the *Mahāniddesa*. The version of this story in the PTS edition of the *Samantapasādikā* (695-96) indicates the time of the tale simply by saying

mahābhaye. I do not see why this has to be read as 'in the Great Famine', referring specifically to this period; it could just mean 'in a famine' or more simply 'in (a time of) great danger'.

[38] The earlier accounts do not mention the place of the writing down of the texts; from the 13th and 14th centuries onward, in the *Pūjāvaliya* and *Nikāya-saṃgraha* (see Norman (1983, p. 11)) and the *Sāra-* or *Sārattha-saṅgaha* (see Jayawickrama (1968, pp. 82-83) and Norman (1983, 173)) arises the tradition, so often found in modern secondary works, that this took place far from the capital at Alu- or Āloka-vihāra near modern Matale in central Ceylon. If this was so, Adikaram (1946, p. 79) may be right to suggest that the location, and the fact that it took place under the patronage of a local chieftain rather than the king, afford further evidence that the development is to be seen in the light of Vaṭṭagāminī's patronage of the Abhayagiri monks. This idea is supported by the fact that the *Saddhamma-saṃgaha*, which re-writes the tale by giving the king a leading role in the story, has the 'Council', as it is there called, take place in a hall which he had built specially for the occasion in the Mahāvihāra itself at Anurādhapura (Saddhamma-s Chapter 6 p. 48).

[39] The *Nikāyasaṅgraha* (Fernando (1908, pp. 12-13)) tells us that in the reign of king Vohārikatissa (269-291) the Abhayagiri monks 'adopted the Vaitulyan Piṭaka' (on this term see text below), and that the king subsequently 'suppressed [this] heresy'. Bechert (1976, pp. 43 foll. and 1977, p. 364) has argued that Mahāyāna literature was written before this time, the only extant example being the *Buddhāpadāna*, written in the 1st or 2nd century and now included in the Pāli canonical text called the *Apadāna*; he does not suggest that this was specifically an Abhayagiri text, however. As was mentioned above (note 32), the *Nikaya-saṅgraha* describes *vaitulya* texts as coming to Ceylon long before the 3rd century.

[40] In his *Abhidharmasamuccaya* Asaṅga says that the terms *vaipulya, vaidalya* and *vaitulya* refer to the same thing, which he also calls the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (p. 79, cited in Rāhula (1956, p. 89)). (On this term see also Winternitz (1933, pp. 283, 316)). It is unlikely, and unnecessary, that these terms, a number of variants of which occur in the Pāli sources, should have had any more precise denotation than does the general term 'Mahāyāna', which refers not to one or more specific Nikāyas in the Buddhist legal sense, but to a general tendency in Buddhist religion. The classic discussion of 'Mahāyānism in Ceylon' is Paranavitana's article with that title (1928); for recent discussion see Rāhula (1956, pp. 89-90), Norman (1978, pp. 40-41), Bechert (1976) and (1977).

[41] This is perhaps most evident in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha.*

[42] The best survey of the evidence for Buddhaghosa and his activity is Ñāṇamoli (1975, pp. xv-xxvii).

[43] Chapter 37 verses 215-46. Buddhaghosa's own *Visuddhimagga* (p. 96) provides a remarkable story expressing the attitudes he encountered at the Mahāvihāra: a monk called Tipiṭaka-Cūlābhaya, who had not learnt the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathaṃ anuggahetvā*) announced that he would give a public discourse on the scriptures (*pañcanikāyamaṇḍale tīṇi piṭakāni parivattessāmi*; later he says *pariyattiṃ parivattessāmi* — it is not clear to me whether this refers simply to a recitation of texts or to commentarial discourses on them, or both). The monks tell him that unless he does so according to the understanding of their own teachers (*attano ācariyuggahaṃ*) they will not let him speak. He then goes to his Preceptor, who asks for an example: 'how do the teachers say (or 'explain') this passage ?' (*idaṃ padaṃ kathaṃ vadanti*). Although the monk then gives the passage correctly, his Preceptor simply grunts (*hun ti*); he then gives it twice more, each time differently (*aññena aññena pariyāyena*), but his Preceptor merely grunts again, and then explains: 'your first version follows the way of the Teachers, but because you have not learnt it from them in person, you could not establish that it is their version' (*tayā paṭhamaṃ kathito yeva ācariyamaggo, ācariyamukhato pana anuggahitattā evaṃ ācariyā vadantī ti saṇṭhātuṃ nāsakkhi*).

[44] This parallelism has already been noted and discussed by McDermott (1984).

[45] Surveys of early historiography in India and Ceylon are found in chapters by Majumdar, Perera, Warder and Godakumbara in Philips (ed.) (1961), Pathak (1966) Chapter 1, Bechert (1969) and Warder (1972, Chapters 3-5).

[46] See Perera (op. cit. in previous note). Malalgoda (1970, pp. 431-32) has usefully compared this attitude to that of ancient Israel; while there are of course many disanalogies, I might add that this attitude has often been connected with the growth of an historical consciousness in Israel.

[47] Bechert (1978, p. 1).

[48] See Geiger (1908, Chapter 2), Norman (1983, pp. 114-18); and note 32 above.

[49] I am drawing specifically on Goody (1977) Chapter 4, 'What's in a list ?', and especially Smith (1982) Chapter 3, 'Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon'. For interesting and relevant remarks on the Judaic and Christian 'canons' see Barr (1983), esp. Chapter 3, 'The concept of canon and its modern adventures'.

[50] It is not surprising that there are also a number of *vaṃsa* texts devoted wholly or in part to recounting the history of relics and their possession: e.g. the *Dāṭhavaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa, Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa, Jina-kāla-mālī.*

[51] The term 'scripturalism' was first used in this way by Clifford Geertz (1968), and has been applied to Theravāda by Tambiah (1976) and Bond (1988). I think that this application is very fruitful, but less so when it is generalised to refer to the pre-modern period, as both Tambiah and Bond do. In Theravāda countries, as in the Islam of Indonesia and Morocco described by Geertz, it is most helpful to use the term to refer to a religious attitude arising as a reaction to a wide range of phenomena in the experience of colonialism and modernity: the downgrading of localised supernaturalism, the cultural prestige and practical power of western science, the centralization and bureaucratisation of power, the establishment of a 'secular' educational system, printing presses, and the resulting value placed on literacy. The search for indigenous resources to combat foreign dominance led, amongst other things, to an emphasis on the noble ideals of the early texts: their teachings are abstract and universal as opposed to localised, 'rational' and 'ethical' as opposed to magical, and fit better with the placing of cultural and political authority in the institutions of bureaucracy and education than do the personalised spiritual interactions of localism. This concatenation of phenomena is, of course, specific to the modern world; and the comparative insight which can be gained from using Geertz's term to describe the Buddhist case seems to me to be lost when it is generalised to become an overall category applicable to all historical periods.

[52] Hence the recurring notion of the need for 'purification' of the Saṃgha by kings. For the influence of Ceylonese Theravāda, in its post-Parakkamabāhu 'unified' form, on mainland Southeast Asia see Keyes (1977, pp. 80-81; 1987, pp. 32-33). One example of the relevance, at least at the level of legend and ideological legitimation, of the possession of the Canon can be found in the story of the introduction of Theravāda to his kingdom by the Burmese King Anuruddha (1044-77). (This is, of course, before Parakkamabāhu I.) As Luce says (1969, pp. 18-19), although the Chronicles 'at first seem hopelessly confused', 'all are agreed that he was a champion of Buddhism, whose main purpose was to secure copies of the Tipiṭaka and Relics of the Buddha'. In the various versions of the story recounted by the *Sāsana-vaṃsa* (pp. 56-65), for example, the legitimatory knowledge and possession of the Buddha's 'true' teaching, as embodied in the canonical texts, is a central theme, and is opposed to the practices of 'false ascetics'. (This is probably a reference to the practices and influence of the Ari.) Thus the texts, and certain relics, become emblems of orthodoxy, as Bechert's recent summary of the story has it (1984, p. 148): 'The Burmese chronicles report that Anuruddha was converted by a Mon monk called Shin Arahan, but that there were no copies of the holy scriptures and no relics in Pagan. The Mon king refused the Burmese king's request for a copy of the holy

sciptures and some relics. It is unlikely that this was the real reason for war as the texts claim; Anuruddha at any rate conquered Thaton in 1057, took the Mon king captive, and brought him, his family and many monks and skilled workmen to his capital Pagan, together with manuscripts of the sacred scriptures of Theravāda Buddhism. With them Mon culture and Theravāda Buddhism reached the Burmese. The supremacy of the Tantric monks was now broken, and though their doctrine survived for a time, particularly in the border territories of Burma, their influence diminished steadily while orthodox thought soon prevailed in all parts of the country'. The *Sāsana-vaṃsa* informs us (p. 63) that the king had the relics installed in a jewelled basket and the texts kept in a jewelled palace. There has, naturally, been much discussion of the historical validity of the Chronicles' accounts: See Harvey (1925, pp. 23-34), Luce (1969, Chapter 2), Htin Aung (1970, Chapter 6). It is certain, however, that the Theravāda tradition gradually replaced what we now call 'Mahāyānist' forms of Buddhism: see, for example, Luce (1969, Chapter 10).

[53] See Bechert and Hartmann (1988), Kloppenborg (1977), Tiwari (1983).

[54] Much of this literature is called 'Mahāyānist', although again I doubt the usefulness of the term. To the references given in note 40 for the early phase, add also Mudiyanse (1967, Chapter 2) and Schopen (1982). J.S. Strong's forthcoming work on Upagupta will detail the extensive presence in Southeast Asian ritual and indigenous literature (and at least one text in Pāli: see Denis (1977)) of this figure derived from the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda tradition. F. Bizot's striking reports from the 'unreformed' Mahānikay monasteries of Cambodia show texts and practices which can without much hesitation be called tantric: see Bizot (1976, 1979, 1981).

[55] Evidence for this in early 19th century Ceylon can be found in Upham (1833, vol. 3 pp. 167-215, 267), for early 20th century Laos in Finot (1917) (cf. Lafont (1962, p. 395 note 1)), and recently for Thailand by Tambiah (1968). Evidence from catalogues of manuscripts from Ceylon suggests that the contents of the *tipiṭaka* have circulated in the same way as, and alongside, a great deal of other literature; both canonical and non-canonical materials, for example, have often been written in the same manuscript. (See de Zoysa (1875, 1885), Wickremasinghe (1900), Gunasena (1901), de Silva (1938), Godakumbara (1980) Somadasa (1987, 1989)).

Evidence for earlier historical periods may be difficult to collect. But as an example of the kind of evidence we need, I cite a list of four kinds of text mentioned in the commentaries (Ps II 264, Mp V 96-97, identical passages commenting on the same *sutta*). It is said that when young monks do not show special respect for their elders, they do not receive help from them, either

materially, by not being provided with robes, bowl, etc., and not being nursed when weak or ill, or in relation to *dhamma*: the latter is explained as their not being taught *pāḷiṃ vā aṭṭhakathaṃ vā dhammakathābandhaṃ vā guḷhaganthaṃ vā*. It is not certain what either of the latter two terms refers to. Adikaram (1946, p. 98) remarks of the former that 'perhaps it included books that formed the basis of the later *ṭīkās* [sub-commentaries] or [narrative] works like the *Rasavāhinī*'. It might also refer to books containing texts used in preaching, as in the modern Sinhalese *baṇa* books. If so, then like the latter, such compilations would have included canonical and non-canonical material (some of the most famous stories in the Buddhist world, such as that of Kisā-gotamī, being found in commentarial literature). *Guḷhagantha* seems to mean 'secret books'; not surprisingly, perhaps, it is not clear what they were. The lists of 'heretical', *Vaitulya* works cited earlier (note 32) contain titles with *guḷha-* as a prefix; but I think it is unlikely that in the contexts here being discussed, we are dealing with an 'esoteric' literature in the Tantric sense. In the later Pali tradition we find works with *guḷha* in the title, and they seem be elucidations of difficult passages in the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* (see Malalasekera (1938, vol. 1 p. 781, vol. 2 p. 883); Bode (1909, pp. 18, 56)). The *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 115-16) contains a very similar passage, but does not mention *dhammakathābandha*; the commentary (cited in Ñāṇamoli (1975, p. 119 note 35)) explains *guḷhagantha* as 'meditation-subject books dealing with the truths, the dependent origination, etc., which are profound and associated with voidness'. So it would seem that *guḷhagantha* in this case refers to a class of sophisticated and technical literature on specialist topics.

[56] Writing of 'traditional Buddhist culture' in Thailand, Keyes (1987, p. 179) has said that 'three texts — or, more properly, several versions of three texts — define for most Thai Buddhists today, as in traditional Siam, the basic parameters of a Theravadin view of the world': they are the 'Three Worlds according to Phra Ruang' (see Reynolds (1982)), the *Phra Mali* (a 15th century composition based on a Ceylonese story called the *Maleyya-Sutta*), and the *Vessantara-Jātaka*. Only the last of these has a canonical version. This generalisation, he says (p. 181), applies to both popular and elite traditions.

[57] Interestingly, one of the reasons for the frequent appearance of *Abhidhamma* texts in monasteries in Laos and Cambodia, where the *Vinaya-* and especially the *Sutta-piṭakas* are comparatively infrequent, is the fact that these texts are used for funeral recitation: the seven texts of the *Abhidhamma* collection correspond to the seven days of the week (J.S. Strong, personal communication; cf Bizot (1981, pp. 10 foll.)).

[58] Thus I think that what Bizot says of Cambodia is true of the whole Theravāda world: 'the term [*tipiṭaka*] refers less to a collection of texts than to an ideological concept' (1976, p. 21).

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KHANDHAKAVATTA

Loss of text in the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka ?

In a recent issue of this journal (*JPTS* XIII, 1989, pp. 83–100) G. Schopen has drawn attention again to the fact that no rules are prescribed in the Khandhaka of the Theravāda Vinaya regulating the veneration of *stūpas*. This has been pointed out earlier, as Schopen recalls, by A. Bareau in 1960 and again by G. Roth in 1980. The explanation given by both these scholars is that the Theravāda Vinaya reflects a very early stage of the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law, when there was no need felt for the respective regulations, or, alternatively, that it had been the concern of laymen rather than monks to care for *stūpas*. In the end both interpretations may complement each other: for during the early times of Buddhism monks may have left matters of worship to laymen.

Now Schopen has traced two passages, one from the Visuddhimagga, the other from the Mahā-Parākramabāhu-Katikāvata formulated during the 12th century, where rules for the conduct towards *stūpas* are, in fact, mentioned. The word used for "conduct" here is *vatta* < Skt *vṛtta* or < Skt *vrata* "duty", as both words, which are semantically near to each other may have been confused in Pāli perhaps, also possibly due to the likely orthographic reform introducing double consonants.[1] At the same time the word *khandhakavatta* occurs in these very rules, which, consequently, seem to have been based on the Vattakkhandhaka, the eighth chapter of the Cullavagga, Vin II 207–235. This has been assumed universally by modern Pāli scholars, as Schopen correctly states.

[1] O.v. Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien.* Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1989, Nr. 11. Stuttgart 1989: chapter XIII. Die Orthographie der ersten Aufzeichnung des Theravāda-Kanons, pp. 63—66.

Journal of the Pali Text Society, XV, 127-38

However, Schopen seems to be the first who has cared to compare the relevant text of the Visuddhimagga:

avasesāni pi cetiyaṅgaṇavatta-bodhiyaṅgaṇavatta-uposathāgāravatta-bhojana-sālā-jantāghara-ācariya-upajjhāya-āgantuka-gamikavattādīni sabbāni khandhakavattāni pūretabbān' eva, Vism HOS VI § 60 = 153,27–31 = PTS 188,5–9.

to the corresponding Vinaya passage, where nothing is said about a *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, on which Schopen concentrates, nor about a *bodhiyaṅgaṇavatta*, as mentioned in passing by Schopen (*JPTS* XIII, 1989, p. 88 note 15), nor about *uposathāgāra* and *bhojanasālāvatta*, which are not discussed at all. This result makes Schopen argue with all necessary and very much commendable caution that there might be a gap in the Theravāda Vinaya as we read it today, because the rules concerning *stūpas*, etc., (pp. 94, 98) still known in 12th century Ceylon, could have dropped out in the course of the text tradition as did, of course, if this assumption is correct, those concerning the *bodhi* tree, the *uposatha* house, and the refectory (*bhojanasālā*), if one does not prefer to consider the latter word as simply replacing canonical *bhattagga*(*vatta*), cf. Vin II 212,36–215,4.

If all this is correct, we have to reckon with a considerable loss of text at an early date, perhaps even before the composition of the Samantapāsādikā, where no such rules about *stūpas* are commented on in the Vattakkhandhaka (Sp 1280,35–1286,27), and not, as Schopen seems to be inclined to believe, although with reservations (p. 93), only after the 12th century. The far reaching consequences for the evaluation of the whole Theravāda tradition are so very obvious that a second look at the relevant Vinaya texts does not seem to be totally out of place. For, as far as my knowledge goes, the only gap traced so far in a text of the Theravāda tradition was observed long ago by H. Oldenberg in the

Aggaññasutta of the Dīghanikāya, where a few lines are missing.[2] This, however, is only of minor importance compared to the loss of a complete set of Vinaya rules.

The first crucial point duly discussed by Schopen is whether or not the *khandhakavatta* mentioned in the Visuddhimagga and in the Katikāvata really refer to the corresponding chapter in the Cullavagga. As Schopen emphasises, not only modern European scholars were of the opinion, but also the Sinhala Vinaya expert Sāriputta, author of the Sāratthadīpanī (Sp-ṭ), a 12th century subcommentary on the Samantapāsādikā, and contemporary with the Katikāvata referred to, "specifically identified" (p. 85) the *khandhakavatta* with those rules given in the Vinayapiṭaka. Although this is no doubt correct, it seems to be worth while having a look at what Sāriputta really has to say. As the respective text may not be easily available everywhere, the passage is quoted here in full and accompanied by a translation:

cuddasa khandhakavattāni *nāma vattakkhandhake vuttāni āgantuka-vattaṃ āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhattagga-piṇḍacārika-ārāññika-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsika-vattan ti imāni cuddasa vattāni. tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādikāle yeva caritabbāni* ***dve-asīti mahāvattāni.*** *na sabbāsu avatthāsu caritabbāni. tasmā cuddassa khandhakavattesu agaṇitāni. tāni pana "pārivāsikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vattaṃ paññāpessāmī" ti ārabhitvā "na upasampādetabbaṃ. pa. na chamāyaṃ caṅkamante caṅkame caṅkamitabban" ti vuttāvasānāni chasaṭṭhi. tato pana "na bhikkhave pārivāsikena bhikkhunā pārivāsikavuḍḍhatarena bhikkhunā saddhiṃ, mūlāyapaṭikassanārahena, mānattārahena, mānattacārikena, abbhānārahena bhikkhunā saddhiṃ ekacchanne āvāse vatthabban" ti-*

[2] H. Oldenberg: *Studien zum Mahāvastu*, 1912 = *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, II 1037–68, p. 1045 (131) note 1. The gap traced by Oldenberg in Ee and Se is confirmed today also by Ce (1929) and Be (1956). As the text lost is not commented on (Sv 868,33–869,1), the gap may be older than the final redaction of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.

ādinā vuttavattāni pakatattacaritabbehi anaññattā visuṃ agaṇetvā pārivāsikavuḍḍhatarādīsu puggalantaresu caritabbattā tesaṃ vasena sampiṇḍetvā ekekaṃ katvā gaṇitāni pañcāhi ekasattati vattāni, ukkhepanīyakammakatavattesu vuttaṃ "na pakatattassa bhikkhuno abhivādanaṃ paccuṭṭhānaṃ. pa. nahāne piṭṭhiparikammaṃ sāditabban" ti idaṃ abhivādanādīnaṃ asādiyanaṃ ekaṃ, "na pakatatto bhikkhu sīlavipattiyā anuddhaṃsetabbo" ti-ādīni ca dasāhi evam etāni dvāsīti vattāni. etesv eva pana kadāci tajjanīyakammādivattāni, kadāci pārivāsikādivattāni aggahitaggahaṇena dvāsīti eva. aññattha pana aṭṭhakathāpadese appakaṃ ūnam adhikaṃ vā gaṇanūpagaṃ na hotī ti "asīti khandhakavattānī" ti vuttaṃ, Sp-ṭ Be II 35,11–36,2 (on Sp 225,27) = Sp-ṭ Be II 198,22–199,13 (on Sp 415,27) ≠ Ps Be III 16,9–29 (on Ps III 30,12).[3]

"Fourteen *khandhakavatta* (Sp 225,27)": Duties prescribed in the Vattakkhandhaka that is the duties concerning incoming monks, resident monks, leaving monks, thanks giving, the refectory, walking for alms food, living in the forest, lodgings, baths, privy, preceptors, companions, teachers, pupils. These are fourteen duties. In addition there are other "82 great duties" (Sp 225,28), which have to be observed occasionally, namely at the time, when a *tajjanīyakamma*, etc., has been committed. They must not be observed at all stages (of monkhood). Therefore they are not counted among the 14 *khandhaka*-duties. These, beginning with "I shall prescribe the duties for monks under probation" (Vin II 31,26), and ending with "He should not ordain (Vin II 32,2), etc., he should not pace up and down in a place for pacing up and down if he is pacing up and down on the ground" (Vin II 33,22), are 66; furthermore, "Monks, a monk under probation should not stay in residence under a common roof with a senior monk under probation, deserving to be sent

[3] Older editions of Sp-ṭ are listed in: H. Smith: Epilegomena to V. Trenckner : *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Volume I, Copenhagen 1948, 1.2,12. An edition in Siamese characters was printed in Bangkok 1931/32.

back to the beginning, deserving *mānatta*, undergoing *mānatta*, deserving rehabilitation" (Vin II 33,22–27), etc. (These) duties prescribed (in the Vinaya) are not counted individually, because they are not different from those to be kept in respect to regular monks, (and) they have been combined and abbreviated in respect to different individuals, namely senior monks under probation etc. with whom they must be kept. If each is counted as one, they are five, (and altogether then) 71 (that is: 66 + 5) duties. Among the duties for those, who have committed an offence leading to suspension it is said: "He should not consent to a regular monk's greeting him, standing up before him, etc., treating his back by massage in a bath" (Vin II 22,20–23). This not consenting to greeting, etc., (is counted as) one. And: "He should not defame a regular monk with falling away from moral habit" (Vin II 20,23 foll.), etc., (are) 10. Thus there are 82 duties. Among these (82) sometimes the duties concerning *tajjanīyakamma*, etc., sometimes the duties concerning probationers, etc., (are to be followed). By apprehension of what is (implicitly) included there are exactly 82. Elsewhere in the Aṭṭhakathā it is said: "80 *khandhaka*-duties"[4] with the intention that not even a little less or too much should be counted."

In spite of the long enumeration and thorough discussion of the *khandhakavatta* and their relation to the Vinayapiṭaka, *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are not referred to, and no room seems to be left to include them here in Sāriputta's reasoning by any means of interpretation.

This negative evidence is fully confirmed by passages from the Aṭṭhakathā:

ekacco hi vattasampanno hoti: tassa dve-asīti khuddaka(= Ne)*vattāni; cuddasa mahāvattāni; cetiyaṅgaṇa-bodhiyaṅgaṇa-*

[4] This may refer to: *aggahitaggahaṇena gaṇiyamānāni asīti khandhakavattāni nāma honti*, Vjb Be 1956, 535,18 on the Vattakkhandhaka. Here, too, the 14 *khandhakavattas* are enumerated as in Sp-ṭ.

bodhiyaṅgaṇa-pānīyamāḷa-uposathāgāra-āgantuka-gamika-vattāni ca karontassa ..., Mp I 30,11–14 = Vibh-a 297,4–7.

Here, *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are clearly distinguished as a class of their own with no immediate connection to the Vinayapiṭaka. In contrast to Sāriputta's reckoning quoted above, the 14 duties of the Vattakkhandhaka are called "great duties" here and at Sp 415,28, while elsewhere as at Sp 225,27 there are 84 *mahāvatta* in accordance with Sāriputta's opinion. If the duties prescribed in the Vinayapiṭaka are the *mahāvatta*, then it makes good sense to change *khandhaka* into *khuddaka* as in Vibh-a and in part of the Mp-tradition.[5]

Further the Vinaya handbooks such as Vin-vn, verses 2914 foll., count 14 *khandhakavatta* in accordance with the Vinayapiṭaka, which again shows that this is a well defined set of rules. In the Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayasaṅgaha (Pālim Be 1956, 233,2–4) only 11 rules are enumerated, and *anumodana, saddhivihārika*, and *antevāsika* are left out. They are, however, duly supplied in the commentary (Pālim-ṭ Be 1977, II 1,11). All these texts do not mention any duties concerning *cetiyas, bodhi* tree, etc.

On the other hand the *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are clearly distinguished from those mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka. For, when commenting on:

cetiyaṅgaṇavattādiasītimahāvattapaṭipattipūraṇaṃ, Ps III 30,12,

[5] The variant *khuddaka* is also found in two old Pāli manuscripts from North Thailand kept in the library of the Siam Society, Bangkok (cf. O. von Hinüber, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 75, 1987, pp. 9-74): No. 55 Manorathapūraṇī (copied AD 1531/1532) fasc. (*phūk*) 2, folio *gu* a 5: *dve-asīti khuddakavattāni cuddasa vattāni* (sic !): here °*bodhiyaṅgaṇa*° is omitted as well; No. 59 Sammohavinodanī (undated, 16th century) fasc. (*phūk*) 14, folio *laṃ* a 3: *dve-asīti khuddakavattāni cetiy*°, where *cuddasa mahāvattāni* is omitted.

it is said:

cetiyaṅgaṇavattādī ti ādisaddena bodhiyaṅgaṇavattādīni saṅgaṇhāti. asītimahāvattapaṭipūraṇan ti ... tattha mahāvattāni nāma vattakkhandhake vuttāni āgantukavattaṃ, Ps-pṭ Be III 16,8–9,

which again shows that the canonical and the non-canonical sets of duties are kept well apart. Thus there can be hardly any doubt that from the time of Buddhaghosa and his Visuddhimagga, at the latest, onwards, the Theravāda tradition did not know of a canonical Vinaya text containing duties concerning *cetiyas* or *bodhi* trees, nor are there any traces of an opinion held by legal experts ascribing those rules to the Vinayapiṭaka. For the 14 *khandhakavatta* enumerated and defined in the commentaries always fully agree with the extant Vinayapiṭaka.

Still the fact remains that a set of duties going beyond the Vinayapiṭaka is found at the commentarial level. The list found in the Visuddhimagga and quoted by Schopen comprises the following 9 items: 1. *cetiyaṅgaṇa*, 2. *bodhiyaṅgaṇa*, 3. *uposathāgāra*, 4. *bhojanasālā*, 5. *jantāghara*, 6. *ācariya*, 7. *upajjhāya*, 8. *āgantuka*, 9. *gamika*. Thus this is the most comprehensive list of these *vattas* met with so far in the commentaries. Elsewhere similar lists occur without any fixed order or number of duties such as the one quoted above from the Manorathapūraṇī and the Sammohavinodanī (Vibh-a) with 6 items, a further list in Dhp-a I 379,15–18, where *bodhiyaṅgaṇa* is missing, or:

tassa hi cetiyaṅgaṇabodhiyaṅgaṇavattaṃ katam eva hoti, upajjhāyavatta-ācariyavattādīni sabbavattāni pūreti, Sv 529,31–33.

These four duties arranged in the same order and followed by *jantāghara* and *uposathāgāra* are named in Sp 415,25–27.

As the duties concerning *cetiya* and *bodhi* tree, which usually stand side by side, are not defined in the Vinayapiṭaka, it is necessary to search in the commentaries to find out what they actually are. This is

stated *ex negativo* in a passage dealing with those who do not pay respect to a Buddha:

yo buddhe dharamāne upaṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati, parinibbute cetiyaṭṭhānaṃ bodhiṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati, cetiyaṃ vā bodhiṃ vā na vandati cetiyaṅgaṇe sacchatto sa-upāhano carati, Sp 1315,8–11.

"Who does not, while a Buddha is living, attend to him, and, when he has entered Nirvāṇa, does not visit a place where there is a *cetiya* or a *bodhi* tree (cf. DN II 140,17–30 = AN II 120,24–34), does not venerate a *cetiya* or a *bodhi* tree, walks in the courtyard of a *cetiya* holding an umbrella and wearing shoes." Further details are found in the commentary on the passage from the Mahāparinibbānasutta (DN II 141,9) just mentioned:

cetiyacārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā ti tattha tattha cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ sammajjantā āsanāni dhovantā bodhimhi udakaṃ āsiñcantā āhiṇḍanti, tesu vattabbam eva n' atthi. asukavihāre cetiyaṃ vandissāmā ti ... , Sv 582,20–23.

"Wandering about to visit *cetiyas* means: they walk around everywhere sweeping the courtyard of a *cetiya*, washing the seats and watering a *bodhi* tree; with them there is no fault. Thinking: 'In that monastery we shall venerate a *cetiya*' ... ."

Sweeping is indeed the usual duty referred to:

kāyena karaṇakammaṃ paññāyati cetiyaṅgaṇasammajjana-bodhiyaṅgaṇa-sammajjana-abhikkamana-paṭikkamana-vattānuvatta-karaṇan ti, Mp III 146,18–20.

"He knows the deed to be done by the body: all sorts of duties such as sweeping the courtyard of a *cetiya*, sweeping the courtyard of a

bodhi tree, or concerning the arrival and departure (from a monastery)." Again sweeping is mentioned at Ps I 259,9 = Pj II 57,16 or:

yassa pāto vuṭṭhāya cetiyaṅgaṇavattādīni sabbavattāni katān' eva, Mp-ṭ Be II 325,3.

"By whom all duties such as the duty concerning the courtyard are done, after he has got up in the morning", cf. also Ja I 449,21–25, where a more popular view on these duties is expressed. The duty to sweep a courtyard is also required as one of the four duties in respect to an *uposathāgāra*: *sammajjituṃ*, Vin I 118,5 "to sweep", *āsanaṃ paññāpetuṃ*, Vin I 118,16 "to prepare a seat", *padīpaṃ kātuṃ*, Vin I 118,26 "to provide a lamp", *pāniyaṃ paribhojaniyaṃ upaṭṭhāpetuṃ*, Vin I 119,1 "to supply drinking water". These, however, are not included in any passage of the Vattakkhandhaka.

Although *bhojanasālāvatta* at a first glance may simply continue and replace the older technical term *bhattaggavatta* — *bhojanasālā* does not seem to occur in canonical Pāli as far as the lexicographical aids available can be trusted — a passage in the Samantapāsādikā shows that this is not necessarily so:

cetiyaṅgane sammajjaniṃ gahetvā bhojanasālaṅgaṇaṃ vā uposathāgāraṅgaṇaṃ vā pariveṇadivāṭhāna-aggisālādīsu vā aññataraṃ sammajjitvā dhovitvā puna sammajjanīmāḷake ṭhapetabbā, Sp 773,14–17.

"Having taken up a broom in the courtyard of a *cetiya*, having swept and scrubbed the courtyard of a *bhojanasālā*, an *uposathāgāra*, or a cell, a day-room or a fire-room, etc., respectively, it must be put back into the broom-cupboard."[6] In the Vinayapiṭaka itself, sweeping is not

[6] This passage adds a further *vatta*: *āsanasālaṃ sammajjantena vattaṃ jānitabbaṃ. tatrīdaṃ vattaṃ: majjhato paṭṭhāya pādaṭṭhānābhimukhā vālikā haritabbā, kacavaraṃ hatthehi gahetvā bahi chaḍḍetabbaṃ*, Sp 773,28–31 "if he sweeps the sitting room, he must know the procedure. This is the procedure

included in the *bhattaggavatta*, which only regulates the correct behaviour when participating in a meal, and it may have found its place within the duties in the *bhojanasālā* by expansion of those required in the *uposathāgāra*.

All this, the enlargement and the transformation of the list of *vattas*, comprising some of those also included in the Vattakkhandhaka and at the same time excluding others, clearly shows that the differences between what is said in the Vinayapiṭaka and in the commentaries are not due to a loss of text from the Theravāda Vinaya tradition, but to the development of ecclesiastical law during a period of certainly more than half a millennium. This may be observed very well when comparing the canonical and the post-canonical passages e.g. on *gamikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vattaṃ*:

Vin II 211,21–31:
dārubhaṇḍaṃ mattikābhaṇḍaṃ paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapānaṃ thaketvā senāsanaṃ āpucchā pakkamitabbaṃ ...
sace vihāro ovassati sace ussahati chādetabbo ussukaṃ vā kātabbaṃ kin ti nu kho vihāro chādiyethā ti.

Sp 777,21–25:
dārubhaṇḍaṃ mattikābhaṇḍaṃ paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapāṇāni pidahitvā gamiyavattaṃ pūretvā gantabbaṃ.
sace pana senāsanaṃ ovassati chādanatthañ ca tiṇaṃ vā iṭṭhakā vā ānītā honti sace ussahati chādetabbaṃ, etc.

Here again words are changed such as *pidahitvā* in the commentary against *thaketvā* in the Vinayapiṭaka in the same way as *bhojanasālā* replaces *bhattagga*, or *abhikkamana*: *paṭikkamana* stands for canonical *āgantuka*: *gamika* in Mp II 146 quoted above. Further the very basic rules

here: beginning in the middle he should collect the dust towards the skirting board and throw the rubbish out with his hands." This, at the same time, shows that it is not always easy to distinguish between *vatta* "duty" and "conduct, procedure".

for protecting furniture of a monastery given in the Vinayapiṭaka are expanded and explained in much greater detail meeting the needs of a more developed life style of Buddhist monks. Another example for the development of Vinaya rules are the very detailed *āgantuka-* and *āvāsika-vatthus* relating to dwelling places during the rainy season found only in Sp 1226,1–1235,23, and thus expanding the Vassupāniyakakkhandhaka, Vin I 137–156. In spite of this there is again no need at all to postulate any loss of text. For the ecclesiastical law continued to develop until present times, the Vinayapiṭaka being used only as a point of reference also for modern books such as Vajirañāṇavarorasa's "Entrance to the Vinaya (Vinayamukha)", which originally appeared between 1916 and 1921 in Bangkok, to name only one example.

Already at the time when the Samantapāsādikā was composed, there was, and most probably had been for centuries, a lively discussion on Vinaya rules within the Theravāda tradition with different views being accepted or rejected, e.g.:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana ... bhāsitaṃ taṃ dubbhāsitaṃ, Sp 697,17–19,

or:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana ... ti vuttaṃ. taṃ n' eva aṭṭhakathāyaṃ na pāḷiyā vuttaṃ, tasmā na gahetabbaṃ, Sp 1069,19–22.

Going even beyond the Vinayapiṭaka was not altogether unacceptable as the principle of *pāḷimuttaka-vinicchaya*, Sp VIII 1591a, 17 foll., shows.

Therefore there is no reason to doubt the completeness of the text as read in the Theravāda Vinaya, if slightly different opinions or even modified, if not entirely new, rules not traceable in any canonical text surface only in the commentaries. These are problems concerning exclusively the vast and largely unexplored field of the development of

Buddhist law, and not the text tradition. Consequently the astonishing fact pointed out again by Schopen remains that not much is found in the Theravāda Vinaya about duties in respect of *cetiyas*, in complete contradistinction to the Vinayas of other schools. Whatever the ultimate explanation of this evidence may be, there is certainly no loss of text involved, and the doubts and reservations expressed by Schopen himself against his own views, proffered only tentatively, prove to be fully justified.

Freiburg O. v. Hinüber

A NOTE ON AMBAPĀLĪ'S WIT

The *Therīgāthā* contains a justly famous poem attributed to Ambapālī, verses 252–70. The former courtesan describes the wrack of her beauty in old age; each of the nineteen verses in turn describes the decay of a physical feature, moving down from the hair of her head in the first verse to her feet in the eighteenth.

The last verse (270) reads:

ediso ahu ayaṃ samussayo jajjaro bahudukhānam ālayo
so 'palepapatito jarāgharo saccavādivacanaṃ anaññathā.

It seems to have escaped the attention of commentators and translators that this contains an excellent pun. Her body, which used to have all the beauties described at the beginning of each of the previous verses, is now compared in its entirety to a house in ruinous condition, "with its plaster fallen off", as Norman translates. He discusses the phrase and cites the commentary in his note on the verse.[1] There is some doubt about the text of the commentary itself, but it is clear both that the commentary saw two ways of construing the phrase and that it took the metaphor of plaster as referring to *abhisaṃkhāra*, which I understand to mean the store of good *kamma*: the commentator is saying that Ambapālī's luck has run out. I may have misunderstood *abhisaṃkhāra*; but certainly the commentator has not seen the pun I am about to point out, and that is probably because he did not understand the *p/v* alternation. Norman in his note refers to that alternation and sees that *apalepa* is a phonetic variant for *avalepa*, but draws no conclusion from that fact.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives for *avalepa* a meaning "pride, haughtiness" — such as a woman might have in her beauty. So *apalepa-patito* means "pride-fallen". The primary meaning, I suggest, is that her beauty has fallen *from* its proud condition, but the

[1] K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, London 1971, p. 119.

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The last verse (270) reads:

ediso ahu ayaṃ samussayo jajjaro bahudukhānam ālayo
so 'palepapatito jarāgharo saccavādivacanaṃ anaññathā.

It seems to have escaped the attention of commentators and translators that this contains an excellent pun. Her body, which used to have all the beauties described at the beginning of each of the previous verses, is now compared in its entirety to a house in ruinous condition, "with its plaster fallen off", as Norman translates. He discusses the phrase and cites the commentary in his note on the verse.[1] There is some doubt about the text of the commentary itself, but it is clear both that the commentary saw two ways of construing the phrase and that it took the metaphor of plaster as referring to *abhisaṃkhāra*, which I understand to mean the store of good *kamma*: the commentator is saying that Ambapālī's luck has run out. I may have misunderstood *abhisaṃkhāra*; but certainly the commentator has not seen the pun I am about to point out, and that is probably because he did not understand the *p/v* alternation. Norman in his note refers to that alternation and sees that *apalepa* is a phonetic variant for *avalepa*, but draws no conclusion from that fact.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives for *avalepa* a meaning "pride, haughtiness" — such as a woman might have in her beauty. So *apalepa-patito* means "pride-fallen". The primary meaning, I suggest, is that her beauty has fallen *from* its proud condition, but the

[1] K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, London 1971, p. 119.

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compound leaves open the implication that it has also fallen *because* of pride; the ambiguity is richly poetic. This pun may also explain why in the metaphor the house is said to be *apalepa-patito* rather than *patitâpalepo*, as one might expect in a *bahubbīhi*.

"Such was this body. A crumbling home of many sufferings, it is a decayed mansion shedding the pride of its plaster. Unfailing is the word of the Truthful."

Oxford Richard Gombrich

MAKING MOUNTAINS WITHOUT MOLEHILLS: THE CASE OF THE MISSING STŪPA

Those who share my admiration for the contribution that Professor Gregory Schopen has been making in recent years to the study of early Buddhist history will have shared also my excitement at seeing that he had contributed an article to a recent number of this journal. *The Stūpa cult and the extant Pāli Vinaya* (*JPTS* XIII, 83–100) tells an exciting tale of doctored texts, perhaps monastic censorship. But alas, it turns out to be much ado about nothing.

The article begins: "One of the more curious things about the Pāli *Vinaya* as we have it is that it contains no rules governing the behaviour of monks in regard to *stūpas*." One of the more curious things about the article (as we have it) is that it goes on to cite several passages in the *Vibhaṅga* section of the Pali *Vinaya* which do refer to stupas, including a reference to their worship (p. 92). What Schopen means, it soon turns out, is that there are no references to the construction and cult of stupas in the other main part of the Pali *Vinaya*, the *Khandhaka*. As Bareau pointed out,[1] all the parallel versions of this part of the *Vinaya* which are preserved in other languages do contain such details.

Schopen bases his exciting hypothesis on the claim that a twelfth-century Sinhala inscription, the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu katikāvata*, says that a monk's duties towards stupas are mentioned in the *Khandhaka* — but they are not. This is the molehill which he elevates to the mountain of systematic monastic censorship. But there is not even such a molehill: unfortunately his case rests on a simple mis-translation. The inscription describes daily monastic routine and says that each morning monks should perform two sets of duties: "both the duties towards stupa,

[1] André Bareau, "La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les *Vinayapiṭaka*", *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême orient*, L, 1962 (not 1960 as cited by Schopen), 229–74.

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towards stupa, great Bo tree and courtyard and the *Khandhaka* duties such as those towards teachers, elders, the sick and lodgings." This makes it clear precisely that the first set of duties is *not* specified in the *Khandhaka*. The translators Schopen relies on have missed the word *du* "and" (derived from Sanskrit *ca*), which occurs twice in the passage: ... *aṅgaṇa-vatu-du* ... *kandu-vatu-du*.

We are thus spared the problem of guessing why all references to the stupa have gone missing from the text of the *Khandhaka* between the twelfth century and modern times. Schopen says that "any discomfiture with monastic participation in *stūpa* or relic cult activity is distinctly modern" (p. 96); I have not come across such discomfiture. Similarly, I am not aware that Buddhists have ever understood the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* to prohibit monastic participation in the cult of stupas. Schopen refers (p. 95) to a "purported prohibition" but does not say who has purported. Schopen's claim that some people have attributed an anti-stupa ideology to Theravāda Buddhism seems to be based on an article by Gustav Roth (cited on p. 83); maybe he is also referring to remarks in the cited article by Bareau.

Schopen and I would agree that such an anti-stupa ideology would be extremely odd. Small stupas (closer to molehills than to mountains) cover the ashes of monks in Sri Lanka to this day. I have always assumed that this practice must go back to the very beginnings of Buddhism; that the stupa originates as a tumulus over the ashes of a monk or nun, in direct continuation of Vedic burial practices (*saṃcayana*).[2]

I would therefore more or less agree with Bareau's suggestion, which Schopen sets out to refute, that the absence from the Pali *Khandhaka* of some things which are in parallel texts "results from the relatively early date of the 'closing' of its compilation" (p. 83). The fact

[2] This idea is hardly new, but I have been hoping to find the time to explore it a bit further in collaboration with Dr Gillian Evison, whose D.Phil. thesis (Oxford 1989) on Hindu death rituals includes thought-provoking material on Vedic funeral customs and their later development.

that these details about stupa construction and worship occur in the miscellaneous section of the text, the *Kṣudraka-vastu*, which is the most diverse between versions and evidently the most open to accretion, strengthens this hypothesis.

I do not however entirely agree with the conclusions to Bareau's learned and informative article. As already mentioned, I agree with Schopen in seeing no need to posit a lay origin for the stupa cult. But there is a further point. Bareau says that most of the descriptions he has cited "refer to a state of affairs in the last two or three centuries B.C." (p. 268) (my translation). But so far as I can discover (and I am no expert on Chinese Buddhism) the earliest date we have for any of the *Vinaya* texts he uses is the early 5th century A.D., the date of translations into Chinese. So the texts could well be describing developments in India after the turn of the Christian era. The Pali *Vinaya*, on the other hand, is plausibly recorded to have been written down in Sri Lanka in the first century B.C. — nearly half a millenium before those Chinese translations. One does not have to posit that it received no further additions after the first century B.C., merely that the Pali tradition had left the mainstream and naturally failed to record later developments on the Indian mainland.

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as one) *yathā kañcanapātiyā silālekheva* (for *-lekhā iva*; Att and Mhbv read *silālekhe va*) *me niccaṃ sabbaṃ sutaṃ na nāsaye.*

7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* "Buddha"

PED translates *Sugata* as "faring well, happy, having a happy life after death",[23] but if that were correct, then all those born in a *sugati*, which includes all men,[24] would be called *sugata*. I regard the word *Sugata* as having the same relationship to *sugati* as *duggata* has to *duggati*, i.e. the implied *-gati* is not being used in its technical sense of "(category of) rebirth". So *duggata* is used in a general sense "(one who is) in a bad way" = "poor", whereas *Sugata* is used in a very specialised sense "(one who is) in a (particularly) good way" = "Buddha".

The same applies to the word *Tathāgata*. PED states that its derivation is uncertain.[25] It was long ago pointed out that it occurs in the Prakrit form *tahāgaya* in Jain literature, although Thomas hinted that the word was possible not of Aryan origin, because "in its use in the scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*".[26] If, however, we assume that *-gata* is used in the same way as in *sugata* and *duggata*, then we can see that it means "(one who is) in that sort of (= very good) way". For the force of the demonstrative, we can compare *tādi*(*n*) "of such a kind = excellent".[27]

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[23] See PED, s.v. *Sugata*.
[24] Cf. *tattha sugatiggahaṇena manussagati pi saṅgayhati*, Vism 427,28.
[25] See PED, s.v. *tathāgata*.
[26] See E.J. Thomas, "Tathāgata and tahāgaya", *BSOS*, VIII, 1936, pp. 781-88 (p. 787).
[27] See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 131 (ad Th 41).

TUṆḌILOVĀDA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA

"The *Sutta* of the Advice to Tuṇḍila" is a short Pali text in both prose and verse. Although by title it is a *sutta* and the narrative attributes its contents to the Buddha, it is not included in the Pali Text Society's edition of the Pali Canon. This is not to say that its contents are markedly different from other discourses in the Pali canon. On the contrary, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* provides a concise illustration, albeit an inspirational illustration, of the logic and structure of traditional Theravāda Buddhist practice.

The occasion for the discourse is a *dāna* given by the layman Tuṇḍila and his wife. After perceiving Tuṇḍila's spiritual potential, but before delivering the discourse proper, the Buddha sends forth his six bodily rays. This is reminiscent of narratives in medieval Sinhala Buddhist literature where the Buddha is also sometimes said to use two means to convert beings, his manner of preaching and the performance of miracles.[1] The discourse then begins appropriately with an exposition of the benefits (*anīsaṃsā*) which accrue to those who practice *dāna*. Significantly, the giving of *dāna* is portrayed here as an integral component of the attainment of *nibbāna*. An account of how *sīla* is always a necessary complement to *dāna* then follows. The exposition of the benefits of practicing *sīla* provides an occasion for an enumeration of first, the five precepts, and then the ten precepts. There is some incongruity in discussing all ten precepts in a discourse addressed to a layman, although this portion of the text may be more narrowly addressed only to the monks in the audience.[2] The benefits of guarding

[1] See, for example, Guruḷugomi, *Amāvatura*, edited by Kodagoda Ñanaloka Thera (Colombo: Gunasena, 1967), p. 49.
[2] The repeated use of the vocative *bhikkhave* in this portion of the text may be taken in more than one way. It can be read as a limitation of the relevance of the

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sīla extend, of course, to future births, including births in heavens, and the text then describes the length of life and pleasures found in various divine states. In a crucial turning point, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* says that such pleasurable courses of life are to be both desired and renounced. The text then refers to the inevitable suffering that comes from desire, and from the life of a householder in general. As is the case with life in a heavenly state, household life is to be both desired and despised. The benefits of renunciation are then extolled. The text ends with an extended simile of the city of *nibbāna*, in which the city's gate, for example, is identified with perfect generosity (*dānapāramī*).

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* as a whole thus illustrates a traditional Theravādin understanding of "the gradual path," to use George Bond's phrase for "the hierarchy of means and ends necessary to relate the dhamma to a variety of people and yet to maintain the belief in one ultimate goal and one ultimate meaning of the dhamma."[1]

As the above summary suggests, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is scarcely noteworthy because of its contents. Rather, it deserves scholarly attention because it is "an allegedly non-canonical sutta."[2] Its significance to the student of the Theravāda was first recognized by Hugh Nevill, who collected three manuscripts containing the text during his government service in Sri Lanka at the end of the nineteenth century, and his own comments are worth extended quotation:

immediate comments to different implied audiences. It also can be taken as evidence that this portion of the text has in fact an origin in another text.

[1] George D. Bond, "The Gradual Path as a Hermeneutical Approach to the Dhamma," in *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 34.

[2] This description is K.D. Somadasa's and is found in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Volume I (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), p. 27. It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge that the edition presented below is a small fruit of this learned scholar's valuable work.

> This is a very important work to the student of Buddhism, as it evidently forms like the Kusala sutta, a portion of the heretical works of one of the schisms, once so powerful in Ceylon. There is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox, beyond the fact that the sutta does not occur in the Nikāyas. The materials are an elegant and masterly compilation of the doctrine from the Sutta piṭaka, composed in a simple and earnest spirit. Gāthas occur at intervals and those relating to dānaṃ or alms struck my friend Dr. Neuman, when read to him by my pundit, as very similar in general style to the Mahādāna of the Jātaka. Other gāthas remind me of the Nidhikaṇḍa sutta of the Khuddakapāṭha, in much of which I recognize great antiquity, though my opinion is really of no value. Dr. Neuman's remark however, though made casually, strikes me on consideration, as very important. There is a primitive simplicity in such stanzas as 'Sabbaṃ dhammena[1] labbhati.'[2]

I would set aside Nevill's speculations about the institutional or sectarian affiliation of the text, for which there is little independent evidence. Likewise, I am wary of Nevill's estimation of the text's date, since he sometimes had a prediliction to date those texts he judged important as also early. More important to me is Nevill's recognition that there are other texts like *Tuṇḍilovāda*, in so far as they are *suttas* which are not found in the generally acknowledged Pali Canon. Nevill mentions the *Kusala Sutta*, but other examples include the *Sāra Sutta*, the *Brāhmaṇapañha Sutta*, the *Maraṇañāna Sutta*, and the *Devadūta Sutta*, all of which are found in Nevill's manuscript collection. Another text with some similarities to these suttas, but also with important differences, is the Sinhala-language *Sumana Sutraya*, described by

[1] Sic. The manuscripts in the Nevill collection actually read *dānena*.

[2] Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28

Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millenialism.[1] These texts — and one must wonder if there are more — have received little scholarly attention, and at this point, it is impossible even to say whether they form a single class of texts, much less to generalize about their collective character. It is equally impossible to say at this point whether these texts, all found in Sri Lanka, share anything with the "apocryphal" Buddhist literature of Southeast Asia, such as the *Paññāsa Jātaka*, the *Malleyyatherasutta*, and the *Jambupatisutta*.[2] All the same, their very existence raises a number of questions, and I hope that this edition will be but a step to the further study they deserve. Whether or not such texts form a distinct body of Pali literature that deserves a name like "deutero-canonical," they may at least assist us in our continuing inquiries about the nature and role of the Pali Canon in the Theravāda.

The comments of Nevill quoted above suggest that he found the canonical guise of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* convincing. It is easy to share this impression. The text begins with *evaṃ me sutaṃ*, the standard phrase which introduces all canonical discourses, and a conventional account of the circumstances in which the discourse was preached by the Buddha. As Nevill says, "there is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox." I too see nothing that would make it fail the most general test of scriptural authenticity accepted in the Theravāda: "[w]hen anyone claims to have an authentic text, its authenticity is to be judged simply by seeing whether it harmonizes with the texts (sutta and

[1] Kitsiri Malalgoda, "Millenialism in Relation to Buddhism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (1970), pp. 424–41. I would like to thank Professor Malalgoda for bringing the *Sumana Sutraya* to my attention.

[2] *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini (London: Pali Text Society, 1981–83). For a brief description of the last two texts, see H. Saddhatissa, "Pāli Literature of Thailand," in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (Boston/Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1974), pp. 215, 219.

vinaya) already current in the Sangha."[1] Moreover, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* also has some commentarial works attached to it, although significantly not *atthakathā* or *ṭīkā*. The manuscripts found in London, and utilized in this edition, include Sinhala-language *sannayas* and Pali-language *pada ānumas*, both commentarial genres popular during the Buddhist renascence which began in Sri Lanka during the Kandyan period. It is not possible to say, in any definitive way, whether such commentaries represent attempts to give the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* more of the appearance of canonical authority, or instead are evidence that the text was indeed received as canonical. K.D. Somadasa's survey of the holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries, which lists 44 manuscripts distributed all over that island, at least would suggest that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* had some currency as a valued text;[2] I have, however, found nothing that would indicate that it was known outside Sri Lanka.

The full significance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* can only be measured against a historical background that includes a closed Pali Canon, an idea which has long played a complicated role in the heritage of the Theravāda.[3] This closed canon was at least nominally restricted to those works said to be "recited" at the first Buddhist councils, and especially the first *saṅgīti* held at Rājagaha. In a way that is reminiscent of commentarial justifications of the canonical status of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, one manuscript in London (given the siglum C below) includes a Sinhala-language *nidānapāṭhavistaraya* which says that

[1] R.F. Gombrich, "How the Mahāyāna Began," in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990), p. 26. On the well-known four *mahāpadesa*, see Étienne Lamotte, "La critique d'authenticité dans le Bouddhisme," *India Antiqua* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1947), pp. 213–22.

[2] K.D. Somadasa, *Lankāvē Puskola Pot Nāmāvaliya* (Colombo: Cultural Department, 1959), I. 34; II. 26.

[3] See Steven Collins, "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon," pp. 89–126 above.

the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* was recited at the first council by Ānanda after he had recited the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*.[1]

We may immediately ask why a text like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* would be written. To answer this we first need to have some idea of the time of its origin, and here we have little concrete evidence. Nevill implied that the text might be early because of perceived similarities between the language and style of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and other Buddhist literature, such as the *Jātaka* verses, which are generally accepted as dating to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature. Such similarities, of course, may owe much to "the eye of the beholder," and one could also note that there are similarities between the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and the *Kosala-bimba-Vaṇṇanā*, which Malalasekera dates to medieval Sri Lanka.[2] Even when such similarities can be extensively established, they may still not be a sure guide for dating a text, as we know from the archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[3]

My own suspicion is that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* dates from the Kandyan period. This, however, is little more than an educated guess based on the inference that a text that had canonical status or authority in an earlier period would also have the kinds of commentaries typical of the time, such as *ṭīkā*. Informing my suspicion is the *Sumana Sutraya*, which from its contents can definitely be dated to the Kandyan period. Finally, I find it reasonable that a period that was characterized by both a low standard in Pali and indeed Buddhist learning, and a desire to effect a

[1] See Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 99.
[2] On the latter text, see Richard F. Gombrich, "Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇanā," in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, edited by Heinz Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), p. 283.
[3] See J.A.B. van Buitenen, "On the Archaism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa," in *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, edited by Milton Singer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 23–40.

revival of Buddhist thought and practice could provide a fertile context for the acceptance of a work like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. As happened with "apocryphal" Buddhist literature in other contexts, "suspicions concerning the authenticity of a text (may have) paled as its value in explicating Buddhist doctrine and practice became recognized."[1]

It is sometimes said that generally Buddhist "apocrypha" were the products of local religious concerns; thus Chinese Buddhist apocrypha "typically reflect their domestic author's own religious interests and social concerns, which were not directly addressed in translated Indian texts."[2] This provides a plausible motivation for contravening the limits of a closed canon, and is helpful for understanding a text like the *Sumana Sutraya*. Similarly, the corpus of Mahāyāna literature, containing distinctive and new teachings, suggests another plausible motivation for extending the limits of a closed canon. Neither of these motivations seems immediately applicable to the composition of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. If nothing new was said, why was a new text needed or desired ?

Perhaps that question itself is skewed by our common assumption that a closed canon had a rigid and inviolable force in the Theravāda. Steven Collins, in the article cited above, has gone some way to identify the historical background to the 'fixing' of the Pali Canon as a closed list of texts. At the same time, he has questioned whether this closed list has always been co-extensive with the body of functionally authoritative literature accepted in the tradition; Collins, to use his own terminology, raises questions whether we should take Canon 2 as simply

[1] Robert E. Buswell, "Introduction," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1990), p. 13. This volume was to include, but now omits, an article on "The Apocryphal Jātakas of Southeast Asian Buddhism," by P.S. Jaini, as announced by Steven Collins, "Preface," in *Apocryphal Birth Stories* (Paññāsa-Jātaka), Vol. I (London: Pali Text Society, 1985), p. vii.
[2] Buswell, p. 1.

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equivalent to Canon 1. Frequent references to later monastic teachers in Buddhist literature as "masters of the *Tipiṭaka*" raise similar questions; does such a title imply that they had memorized the whole canon, or, as seems more likely to me, that they were judged to be in command of its contents. In these two instances and in others,[1] we are beginning to discern a spectrum of ideas about the *tipiṭaka* in the Theravāda tradition, and it may be that when judged against such a spectrum, texts like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* will not appear so anomalous.

We can perhaps be more specific about the probable sociology of knowledge necessary for the acceptance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta.* In a general sense, the same conditions — especially a widespread use of writing for recording scriptures — which Richard Gombrich suggested were necessary for the rise of the Mahāyāna,[2] were necessary here too. In addition, as one can see with only a glance at K.D. Somadasa's catalogue of the Nevill manuscript collection, the written *Suttapiṭaka* was frequently transmitted not as a whole or even in the five *nikāyas*, but as individual *suttas*, either separately or as part of ad hoc anthologies. It is easy to see that a new *sutta* could more readily gain acceptance in a context where the canon circulated and was known more in parts than as a whole. This acceptance may also have been facilitated by the fact that there is a *Tuṇḍila Jātaka* and the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* may have been assumed to be a portion of that text.[3]

The text of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* contains a number of solecisms, although all are generally intelligible without emendation.

[1] The work of the anthropologists François Bizot and Charles Keyes is especially relevant in this regard; relevant references may be found in Steven Collins' paper (pp. 89–126 above).

[2] Gombrich, "How the Mahāyāna Began," pp. 21–30.

[3] An apparent example of such a perception can be found in G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Pali Text Society, 1960), s.v. Tuṇḍila.

Even though the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is often written in poor Pali, it is not without literary merit. I agree with Nevill's judgement that at times it has a "primitive simplicity," and I confess that I find the simplicity and vigor of its style pleasing.

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* frequently uses similes, although this is not simply another part of its literary style. As is well known, analogies, similes, and metaphors are a common feature of Theravādin homiletics. Indeed, analogy and simile were apparently considered very effective teaching tools, appropriate for even the dullest student. In the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*,[1] for example, the Bodhisatta uses analogy as a teaching method of last resort with a dullard, thinking that "making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him."[2] This method is particularly visible in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* in a sequence about *kāmā*; to take one example: "desires are like a boil filled with pus because both have a stinking nature" (*duggandhabhāvena pūtiparipuṇṇagaṇḍupamā kāmā*).

The most elaborate simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* concerns the city of *nibbāna*. The basic idea of the city of *nibbāna* is quite common in the Buddhist literature of medieval Sri Lanka, but the term also seems to be a conventional form of reference rather than a live metaphor. The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta's* long application of the parts of a city, standard in poetic imagination, to *nibbāna* is thus of some interest. I am not sure, however, that the serial simile is intended as a device for extending understanding through the process of "comparing and reasoning" referred to in the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*. I find it hard to comprehend how the watchtower (*aṭṭālaka*) of the city is similar to *samādhi*: should we really

[1] J I 446–49.

[2] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. I, translated by Robert Chalmers (London: Pali Text Society, 1969), p. 272.

try to reason and infer so much that enstasy is perceived as similar to the place where one expects the guards to keep their eyes open ? But the long serial simile of the city of *nibbāna* is not without precedent in Pali literature. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, there is a serial simile about the 'rajah's citadel',[1] where the gate-keeper is appropriately said to be mindfulness; in the *Apadāna*, there is a serial simile about the city of *Dhamma*, where the watchtower (*aṭṭālaka*) is mindfulness; and in the *Milindapañha*, there is an exceptionally long simile of the city of *Dhamma* where *viriya* is the watchtower.[2] Although these three examples seem to have more synthetic coherence than the simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*, none of them have much immediate force, whether for persuasion or for clarification, even when they are compared with some of the well-worn metaphors used in connection with *kāmā*. For me, the rhetorical purpose of these serial similes remains unclear. While this is not the place to begin a comparative study of their logic and force, we can at least see that such a comparison will contribute to our understanding of the varied roles of metaphors and images in Buddhist homiletic literature.

The edition presented here is based on seven direct witnesses found in six manuscripts. All of the manuscripts are located in London, and thus the sigla assigned to the witnesses are largely arbitrary, and only group the manuscripts according the libraries where they are found:

A: British Library Or 6599(21). Text only. 17 folios (ka-kha). A nineteenth century copy.[3]

[1] *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, translated by E.M. Hare (London: Pali Text Society, 1978), p. 73.
[2] A IV 105–11; Ap 44; Miln 330–45.
[3] This manuscript is described in K.D. Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28.

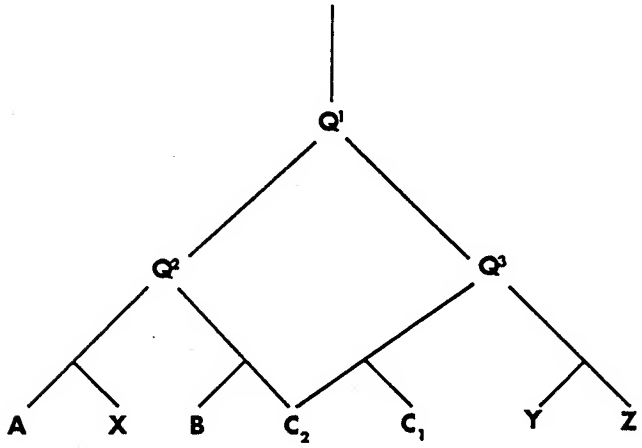
B: British Library Or 6599(20). Text and *pada ānuma*. 20 folios (khṛ-gḷ). A nineteenth century copy.[1]
C_1: British Library Or 6600(41) V. Text and *pada ānuma*. 14 folios (khe-gḷ). A nineteenth century copy.
C_2: British Library Or 6600(41) I. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (sva-khī). A nineteenth century copy.[2]
X: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 43736. Text only. 6 folios (kai-ga). Probably a nineteenth century copy.
Y: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,43737. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (ka-khu). Probably a nineteenth century copy.
Z: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 43738 Text and *sannaya*. 31 folios (ku-ghi). Probably a nineteenth century copy.[3]

The witnesses naturally fall into three groups, according to whether they represent the text alone, or with either a *sannaya* or a *pada ānuma*. One might suspect that a grouping based on what are really different genres would exclude the possibility of contamination, but this has not been the case. Beyond this, the witnesses may be divided into two groups, according to relationships based on similarities of readings. Finally, I suspect that all manuscripts are copies of a single exemplar, which was not the original archetype. All manuscripts share a common, and a surprisingly obvious, error in the last *gāthā* of the text. It is this error which suggests a common source for all manuscripts, although admittedly it is a rather slim basis for such a judgement. I should note

[1] This manuscript is also described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 27.
[2] Both witnesses found in manuscript C are described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 98–100.
[3] The *sannayas* found with witnesses C_2YZ are often substantially different from each other.

this instance is the only place where I have emended the text against the authority of all the manuscripts.

The following chart shows the approximate relationship among the different witnesses, with Q standing for "*quelle*," hypothetical source; the divisions do not imply a lack of contamination:



This chart simply represents affinities among manuscripts, not a stemma. Since this distinction was fundamental to the methods employed in making this edition, it deserves some explanation.

The editing of Pali texts is entering a new era. Earlier editions were quite frankly provisional, working tools meant to get the study of Pali literature underway.[1] We are now at a point where a re-examination

[1] See, for example, the "Foreword" by C.A.F. Rhys Davids to *The Visuddhimagga*, edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London: Pali Text Society, 1920), p. viii.

of these provisional editions seems required, but this means, as K.R. Norman has said, "[w]e must then face the question: 'What is an accurate edition of a Pāli text ?'"[1] In answering this question, we may have to admit that accurate editions can be produced according to different editing methods, and that various methods may be more appropriate to different kinds of texts.

I have not attempted an edition based on a stemma here. This is not to imply, though, that I have decided that the difficulties inherent in the stemma method cannot be overcome sufficiently for the reconstruction of the originals of early Pali literature,[2] or that the stemma method cannot be helpful for reconstructing the history of Indian texts.[3] Without addressing such questions, I have only decided that the stemma method is not appropriate for editing the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. This decision reflects my suspicion of contamination in the limited number of manuscripts available to me, but more importantly, it is based on a doubt about whether the stemma method is appropriate for any late Pali text from Sri Lanka or Southeast Asia. Success in reconstructing a stemma depends on the recognition of shared errors and variants, by which the historical relationships among witnesses is defined. This recognition, however, is only possible when the editor can establish a relatively uniform standard of language against which mistakes can be

[1] K.R. Norman "Pāli Philology and the Study of Buddhism," in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), p. 34.

[2] For a useful survey of criticisms of the stemma method in another field, see Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), pp. 1–41.

[3] See, for a valuable discussion of this question, Oskar von Hinüber, "Remarks on the Problems of Textual Criticism in Editing Anonymous Sanskrit Literature," in *Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists 1978* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1980), pp. 28–40.

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recognized, and such a clear standard is still lacking for the Pali of the late Theravāda.[1]

Thus, to avoid creating a text that is simply a patchwork of readings that no Buddhist reader ever knew, this edition was prepared using a base model method. I hope that this at least gives a reasonably good text, such as could have been available to a reader in nineteenth century Sri Lanka. Z was selected as the basic manuscript for the edition, because I found it consistently to have the best readings in places where other manuscripts had obvious errors. This is not to say that Z is completely free of mistakes, and the other manuscripts thus have served as controllers for the reading of Z, as well as sources of true variants. I have found that A, while having many more mistakes than Z, is often a source for such variants, which is not surprising given the affinities of the manuscripts noted in the chart above. It has thus been singled out as a kind of secondary basic manuscript. Thus both Z and A could, if one were so inclined, be completely reconstructed (except for the routine changes in orthography to be noted below) from the critical apparatus provided in the notes. Rejected readings of these two manuscripts, usually errors in spelling, are contained in brackets [ ] in the notes. XBC_1C_2Y are controllers; their rejected readings are included only out a desire for completeness and are contained in parentheses ( ) in the notes. Except for the single instance noted above, no emendation has been made in the edition against the authority of the manuscripts. I have noted places where emendation does seem necessary and have also suggested some plausible emendations in the critical apparatus.

[1] For a very useful introduction to the linguistic variety found in Southeast Asian Pali, see G. Terral, "*Samuddaghosajātaka* — Conte Pāli tiré du *Paññāsajātaka*," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLVIII (1954), pp. 249–350.

I have routinely made some corrections in orthography in the edition without any acknowledgement in the critical apparatus. After the sixteenth century, the tradition of orthography in Sinhala, with respect to the letters "*n*," "*ṇ*," "*l*," and "*ḷ*," became confused, and these letters were used indiscriminately. This affected the transmission of texts both in Sinhala and Pali.[1] This confusion was not completely corrected until the twentieth century, and it is very apparent in all the manuscripts used in the edition. Similarly,the Pali "*e*" was pronounced as a Sinhala "*ē*", and the latter mode of representation is sometimes found in the manuscripts. All of these variations could have occurred to different copyists at similar points. Thus, these polygenetic "errors" have no value for constructing an edition, and there seems little reason to add to the number of notes by their scrupulous citation. The copyists of some of the manuscripts had a predilection always to write a long "*ī*," even where an "*i*" would be expected. The nature of Sinhala script also means that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish "*u*" and "*ū*"; I have often been guided by expectations of standard Pali.[2] In these cases there is some consistency, but still little value in their notation; their occurence has not been included in the critical apparatus. The spelling of *nagara* has also been standardized; I have ignored the inconsistent use of the half-nasal, although this has long been noted as a frequent variation.[3] It strikes me that this is also a polygenetic variation, with little value for establishing a text.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that the collation of manuscripts for this edition was done in London while I was on a research leave funded by the American Council of Learned Societies and

[1] See Julius De Lanerolle, "Orthography," in *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, Vol. I, Part I (Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society — Ceylon Branch, 1935), pp. xxxix–xlv.

[2] On the confusions of these vowels in Southeast Asian Pali, see Terral, p. 310.

[3] See Oscar Frankfurter, *A Handbook of Pāli* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), p. 7. Frankfurter calls this half-nasal "a mistake of the Sinhalese copyists."

Loyola University of Chicago. The generosity and assistance of Dr. Tadeusz Skorupski, Steven Bunes, and Patti Schor made the final machine-readable production of this edition possible. My friend, Dr. M.W. Wimal Wijeratna, both assisted and encouraged me in the collation; his help was indispensible in more ways than can ever be specified. My teacher, Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, went over a draft of the edition with me, and made many suggestions for improvements, too numerous for individual citation in the notes. As with so much of my work, this edition would not have been possible without his help. To each of these institutions and individuals, I offer my sincere thanks.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA

Evaṃ me sutam.[1] Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kapilavatthunagaraṃ upanissāya Rohananadiyā tīre[2] Nigrodhārāme viharanto devamanussānaṃ saṃgahaṃ karaṇatthāya[3] madhurassarena dhammaṃ desento bahudevamanusse[4] saggamokkhamagge patiṭṭhapento[5] Nigrodhārāme paṭivasati. Tena kho pana samayena tasmiṃ[6] yeva Kapilavatthunagare Tuṇḍilo nāma gahapati paṭivasati. So[7] gahapati mahāvibhavasampanno bahudāsadāsī ca gomahisādayo ca dhanadhañño suvaṇṇarajatādinī[8] bahutarā bahukoṭṭhāgārāni[9] sampanno ahosi. Bhariyāpissa Irandatī hoti.[10]

[1] A [*sutam*]
[2] A *nadītīre*
[3] A *saṃgahakaraṇatthāya*; Z (*karatthāya*)
[4] C_1 C_2 (*bahudevamanussesu*)
[5] AX [*patiṭṭhanto*]
[6] Z [*tasmin*]
[7] B omits *so*
[8] BC_1C_2 *svaṇṇarajatādinī*
[9] The plural instrumental would usually be expected here, e.g. *bahukoṭṭhāgārehi*.
[10] Y *ahosi*

So gahapati ekadivasaṃ[1] Bhagavato dhammadesanaṃ sotukāmatāya dīpadhūpagandhamālādinī gāhāpetvā yena Bhagavā tenupasaṃkami.[2] Upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā dhammasabhāyaṃ[3] nisinno dhammaṃ suṇati. So gahapati dhammadesanāya pasīditvā evaṃ cintesi:[4] Ahaṃ pubbesu dinnadānassa nissandena sucaritadhammena imasmiṃ yeva attabhāve mahādhano mahābhogo jāto. Puna[5] idāni dānaṃ dātuṃ[6] vaṭṭatīti cintetvā Bhagavato dhammadesanāya pariyosāne Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā uṭṭhāyāsanā parivārehi saddhiṃ[7] attano gehaṃ gantvā[8] bhariyaṃ pakkosāpetvā evaṃ āha: Bhadde[9] ahaṃ dānaṃ dātukāmomhīti.[10] Sā[11] tassa[12] vacanaṃ sutvā, sādhu devā ti sampaṭicchi. Ubho pi jayampatikā dānassa vidhiṃ sajjetvā attano nivesanassa purato mahāmaṇḍapaṃ kāretvā[13] Buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusaṃghassa nimantetvā maṇḍapamajjhe nisīdāpetvā nānā-khādaniyābhojanādī hi[14] sampiṇḍetvā mahādānaṃ pavattesi.

[1] B *ekaṃ divasaṃ*; A [*ekadivasaṃ*]
[2] A omits *upasaṃkami*
[3] Y (*dhammasabhayaṃ*)
[4] A *cintetvāsi*
[5] A *punā*
[6] C_2Y (*dātuṃ*)
[7] Y (*saddhiṃ*); C_2 omits *saddhiṃ*
[8] C_1 *gehagantvā*
[9] BC_1YZ *bhaddenī*
[10] X *dātukāmomha ti*
[11] X (*yā*)
[12] Z *sattavacanaṃ*, although the *sannaya* glosses as if reading *tassa*.
[13] C_2 *kārāpetvā*
[14] My word division here is based on an expectation of an accusative plural, with *sampiṇḍeti*, instead of reading an instrumental plural. Admittedly, the *hi*, attested in all manuscripts, then seems unnecessary in this context.

APROPOS THE PĀLI VINAYA AS A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT:
A REPLY TO GREGORY SCHOPEN

In an article on "The Stūpa Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya,"[1] Gregory Schopen argues that Theravādins once knew a *Vinaya* text different from that now available to us. The difference suggested by Schopen is not minor: his hypothesis is that the Pāli *Vinaya* once had rules regarding *stūpas*, just as the *Vinayas* of other Buddhist schools do. Obviously, if this provocative hypothesis is correct, it would have wide ramifications for our understanding of the Theravāda as a historical tradition. It could be the keystone for a new vision of the the social structure and practice of ancient Buddhist communities.

I have a great deal of sympathy with the promise of that new vision, and like Gregory Schopen, I feel that it has been too long in coming. However, I also find Schopen's specific suggestion about the Pāli *Vinaya* to be untenable. Before giving reasons for this judgement, I would first like to acknowledge the continuing value of this paper for a student of Buddhism. Schopen's article on the Pāli *Vinaya*, like so much of his work, combines a scepticism towards received ideas in scholarship and a keen ability to see new connections between scattered details. This is an exemplary combination that more often than not leads to a better understanding of the history of the Buddhist traditions. Moreover, this article offers, in the course of supporting the main suggestion about the "extant Pāli *Vinaya*," many particular insights and recommendations for future research; these on their own make the article a valuable contribution to Buddhist historiography.

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[1] Gregory Schopen, "The Stūpa Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya," *JPTS*, XIII (1989), pp. 83–100.

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I

Schopen's argument that the Pāli *Vinaya* once contained rules regarding stūpas rests ultimately on the interpretation of a few passages in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* and the twelfth century monastic code (*katikāvata*) of Parākramabāhu I. Other important information documenting monastic participation in the *stūpa* cult as a matter of some ordinariness is offered as corroboration for the key textual interpretations, and indeed much of the article is devoted to this supporting material. All of this supporting material is relatively well-established,[1] in large part because of Gregory Schopen's own research, published elsewhere, and there is nothing about it that I would wish to gainsay. Valuable as this material is, it is still "circumstantial evidence" and alone it cannot confirm Schopen's hypothesis about the history of the *Vinaya* text.

In a curious way, however, some of Schopen's supporting material seems to turn on the main hypothesis itself, so much so that, in my view, the determinant interpretation of the different passages in the *Visuddhimagga* and the *katikāvata* consequently appears less credible. This subversion of the argument begins when Schopen notes that "if — as the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Sutta-Vibhaṅga* seem to suggest — the Pāli *Vinaya* originally contained such rules [regarding *stūpas*], then the fact that they are no longer found in the *Vinaya* known to us could, apparently, only be explained by

[1] See especially Gregory Schopen, "Burial 'ad sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archeology of Religions," *Religion*, 17 (1987), pp. 207–25; Gregory Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 10 (1985), pp. 9–47; and Gregory Schopen, "On Monks, Nuns and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism," *Artibus Asiae*, XLIX (1988-89), pp. 153–68.

assuming that either they had inadvertantly dropped out of the manuscripts or, perhaps, were intentionally written out."[1] But having said this, Schopen then only gives reasons why neither of these assumptions can be seriously entertained.

By Schopen's own admission, the possibility that rules regarding *stūpas* were lost due to interruptions in textual transmission is unlikely. It is just too good to be true that all such rules, which we might best assume were scattered throughout the canonical text as is the case with other *Vinayas*, could have been lost by reason of accident alone.[2] Other evidence can be added to Schopen's reasoning about this unlikelihood. We should recall that the use of writing for the preservation of texts was a well-established feature of Theravādin monastic life by the time of Parākramabāhu's *katikāvata*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* records some occasions when kings sponsored the writing of canonical texts and then donated these copies to monasteries around Sri Lanka. Bhuvanekabāhu, for example, "caused all the three *Piṭakas* to be written by learned scribes of the Scriptures [*Dhammapotthakalekhinaṃ*], rewarded them liberally and placed the copies in the diverse Vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus spread the Pāli scriptures throughout the land."[3] It strains all credibility even to consider that multiple "accidents of transmission" could afflict manuscripts scattered "throughout the land" so similarly, when even a single occurence of such an accident is admitted to be unlikely. Moreover, it seems reasonable to expect that in a context where one collection of manuscripts was extensively damaged, some process of "textual

[1] Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 93.
[2] Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 95: "it would be easy enough to see how some of these scattered rules could have been lost through accidents of transmission, but that all such rules would have been lost in this way seems very unlikely."
[3] Mhv 90:37–38, translation quoted from G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1928), p. 228. See also Mhv 45:3–4.

criticism" would correct whatever gaps had occurred, thus restoring at least a semblance of the original.

Schopen's alternative assumption — that the rules regarding *stūpas* were systematically removed — seems no more likely. Schopen himself provides abundant evidence that there could not have been any serious prohibition of monastic participation in the *stūpa* cult in the Buddhist communities of India and Sri Lanka before Buddhaghosa. There is also no evidence to indicate that this monastic participation was proscribed in the medieval period. Finally, we can add the fact of the numbers of *Vinaya* manuscripts and also manuscripts of the extensive commentarial literature associated with the *Vinaya*. To suggest that references to the rules regarding *stūpas* were systematically removed from so many duplicate manuscripts is to posit a preposterous conspiracy theory.[1] Conspiracies are notoriously difficult to establish, in courts of law and in scholarship; all too frequently the charge owes more to the preceptions of the accuser than to the facts themselves.

Thus both "explanations"of the hypothetical loss of rules regarding *stūpas* "raise many more questions than answers."[2] For me, then, Schopen's own support for his argument about the Pāli *Vinaya*

[1] Schopen seems to think that a careful examination of the *Samantapāsādikā* might confirm his hypothesis about an original Pāli *Vinaya*. I gather that he has in mind the possibility that the commentarial literature might display gaps in the *Vinaya* itself by preserving glosses and discussions of material now missing; see Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 86, n. 9. My own cursory use of this commentarial literature makes me doubt that a discrepancy between text and commentary will be found to any degree more marked than with other commentaries. If such gaps were preserved in the *Vinaya* commentaries, I would expect Theravādin literature to address their source, in a manner analogous to Jaina acknowledgement of the loss of their original scriptures; the lack of such an acknowledgement is of course not conclusive, but merely contrasting "circumstantial evidence."

[2] Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 95.

provides sufficient reason to reconsider whether his interpretation of the passages from the *Visuddhimagga* and Parākramabāhu's *katikāvata* is indeed correct.

II

If Schopen's argument about the Pāli *Vinaya* depends in the end on his interpretation of a limited number of passages, his interpretation of these passages depends on his understanding of an single term, *khandakavatta*. These passages associate, by juxtaposition at the very least, duties (*vattāni*) pertaining to *stūpas* and *bodhi* trees with other specific observances called collectively *khandakavattāni*. On the crucial point of this term's reference, Schopen is somewhat tentative, admitting that his interpretation depends on the correctness of other scholars' work.

Following the lead of standard dictionaries and translations, Schopen glosses *khandakavattāni* as "duties specified in the *Khandaka*," with the further possibility that they refer to the observances enumerated in the *Vattakkhandaka* portion of the *Vinaya*.[1] Impressively, this gloss is said to agree with that of the great *ṭīkācariya* Sāriputta, although Sāriputta's own interpretation comes at second-hand from a footnote in Ratnapala's translation of the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*.

While this translation of *khandakavatta* is obviously plausible for lexical purposes, it is still too general to bear the weight it must, if it is to be the *sine qua non* of Schopen's hypothesis.

Some further specificity is provided by Sāriputta himeself, in a discussion of *khandakavattāni* found in his *Vinaya ṭīkā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The textual occasion for this discussion is Buddhaghosa's

[1] Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 85.

reference to fourteen *khandakavattāni* and eighty-two *mahāvattāni* in the *Samantapāsādikā*; significantly Buddhaghosa is not commenting on any monastic practices at this point, but is elaborating the means by which the *saddhamma* may be preserved[1]; it may be that in such a context Sāriputta would have been guided more by scriptural precedent than by the patterns of practice of his day and this discussion may then be a good reflection of the *Vinaya* he knew. The *Sāratthadīpanī* passage reads:

> *cuddasa khandakavattāni nāma vattakkhandake vuttāni āgantuka-vattaṃ āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhattagga-piṇḍa-cārika-āraññaka-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsikavattan ti imāni cuddasa vattāni. Tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādikāle yeva caritabbāni dve-asīti mahāvattāni. na sabbāsu avatthāsu caritabbāni. tasmā cuddasakkhandakavattesu agaṇitāni.*[2]

This may be translated:

> "The fourteen *khandakavattāni* are those fourteen observances described in the *Vattakkhandaka* such as the observance pertaining to guest monks, to resident monks, and to monks going away, pertaining to giving thanks, to the refectory, to the collecting of alms, to the forest-dwellers, and to the lodging place, to the bathroom and to the latrine, to the preceptor, the co-resident, the teacher, and the pupil. Then the other eighty-two *mahāvattani* are those which are to be practiced only at the appropriate time, as, for example, the act of censure was done, and are not to be practiced in all stages of life. Therefore they are not counted in the fourteen *khandakavattāni*."

[1] Sp 225, glossing *saddhammaṭṭhitiyā*.
[2] Sāriputta, *Sāratthadīpanī nāma Vinayaṭīkāya* (Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya, B. E. 2513), Vol. 2, p. 54.

This single passage provides sufficient evidence to doubt that Buddhaghosa and Sāriputta knew a *Vinaya* markedly different from the one we now have. First, Sāriputta employs conventional numbers in discussing the monastic observances. The idea of fourteen *vattāni* goes back to the *Vinaya* itself, as does the identification of each specific observance.[1] It should be noted that this enumeration and identification are found in a "key" at the end of the *Vattakkhandaka*, and it could be argued that this section itself is a late addition to the *Vinaya* text. Buddhaghosa does not comment on this key, but the idea of fourteen *vattāni* was certainly known to him, as he employs it at various places in his commentaries.[2] A reference to fourteen *vattāni* is also found in the *Jātaka*.[3]

It is significant that the number of *vattāni* appears conventionally fixed, while the collective name for these observances is not. In the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa speaks of fourteen *khandakavattāni* and eighty-two *mahāvattāni* as well as eighty-two *khandakavattāni* and fourteen *mahāvattāni*.[4] In his *Vibhaṅga* commentary, Buddhaghosa speaks of fourteen *mahāvattāni* and eighty-two *khuddakavattāni*,[5] a usage which is directly consonant with Ratnapala's identification of major and minor duties in the *Khandaka*. This numerical consistency and terminological interchangeability continued in Sāriputta's time. For example, another *ṭīkā* on the *Vinaya*, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, contemporary with the *Sāratthadīpanī*, glosses a reference to the fourteen *mahāvattāni* as *āgantuk'-āvāsika-gamik'-ānumodana-bhattagga-piṇḍacārik'-āraññaka-*

[1] Vin II 231. A glance at the Devanāgarī edition of the *Cullavagga* indicates that on this point there are no variants among the Roman, Burmese, and Sinhalese editions; see *Cullavagga*, edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap (Nalanda: Devanagari Pali Series, 1956), p. 362.
[2] See Sp 225, 874, 1378; Vbh-a 297.
[3] Ja I 449.
[4] Compare Sp 225 with Sp 415.
[5] Vbh-a 297.

senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjh'-ācariyasaddhi-vihārik'-antevāsika-vattāni, an identification that is the same as Sāriputta's for the *khandakavattāni*.[1] This deserves emphasis. Both the idea of fourteen *vattāni* and the identification of specific observances is consistent, and in this conventional list of fourteen there is no room for practices connected with *cetiyas* or *bodhi* trees.

The latter practices cannot be included among the eighty-two other observances noted by Sāriputta. The eighty-two *mahāvattāni* are not done daily, but only as circumstances demand. This contrast is made very clear in yet another *Vinaya ṭīkā* from the same period, the *Vimativinodani*:

> *etāni* (i.e. *imāni cuddasavattāni*) *ca sabbesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ sabbadā ca yathārahaṃ caritabbāni. dve-asīti mahāvattāni pana tajjanīyakammatādikāle yeva caritabbāni, na sabbadā, tasmā visuṃ gaṇitāni* ... [2]
>
> "These are to be done by all monks every day as is appropriate. The eighty-two *mahāvattāni* are to be done at the proper time, as for example the act of censure was done, not every day, and therefore they are taken individually ... "

[1] *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (Bangkok: Bhumibalo Bhikkhu Foundation Press, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 393. See as well the twelfth century Sinhala glossary, the *Jātaka Aṭuva Gätapadaya*, edited by Ven. Mäda uyangoḍa Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1961), p. 114: *cuddasa mahāvattesu, āgantuka vata āvāsika vata bhaktāgra vata senāsana vata jantāghara vata vaccakuṭi vata upadhyāya vata anumodanā vata piṇḍapāti vata āraññaka vata saddhivihārika vata antevāsika vata yanādi vu tudus mahāvathida; asītikhandakavattesu ca, tajjaniyādi ī karma kaḷa kālayehida parivāsādi kālayehida paryiayutuvū devisi kanduvat ādivū asūmaha kanduvatehida.* This last explanation clearly echoes Sāriputta's comment on the eighty-two *mahāvattāni* translated above.

[2] Coliya Kassapa, *Vimativinodani*, edited by Beratuduwe Dhammadhara Tissa Thero (Colombo: H. Gabriel de Silva, 1935), p. 89.

We have evidence that the observances for *cetiyas* and *bodhi* trees were counted among those to be done daily,[1] which might also explain why they were juxtaposed with the fourteen *vattāni*. It hardly seems plausible that they would be grouped with the other eighty-two *vattāni*, since they do not fit within the definition of those observances, even though the larger number would make their inclusion easier. It thus seems more than likely that Buddhaghosa, Sāriputta, and the other *ṭīkācariyas* did not include the observances concerning *stūpas* and *bodhi* trees among the observances specified in the *Vinaya* itself.

The individual passages discussed by Schopen require some further comment. It may be that Ratnapala's translation of a key line in the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*, while in general correct, is mislead-ing in a crucial respect. Schopen gives emphasis to the line in question when he quotes the passage: "the duties specified in the *Khandaka* such as the duties pertaining to *Stūpas*, . . . the teachers ... ," etc. Ratnapala, however, omitted in his translation a *du*, "also" which, if included would give: "the duties specified in the *Khandaka*, such as the duties pertaining to teachers, etc., as well as the duties pertaining to *stūpas* and the shrines of the *bodhi* tree.[2] This would seem to be a clear example of juxtaposition, rather than inclusion in a fixed list.

[1] For example, the *Heraṇasikhavinisa*, a twelfth century commentary to a handbook of *Vinaya* rules for novices referred to in the *Mahā-Parākramabābu Katikāvata* (see Ratnapala, pp. 130, and 192, n. 8.1) explicitly says that these observances are to be done every day; an edition of this work is found in *Sikhavalanda hā Sikhavalanda Vinisa*, edited by Mäda uyangoḍa Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1970), p. 157.

[2] Ratnapala apparently also misconstrued *dahagab māmbo aṅgaṇa-vatu-du* as three observances, rather than two, as is suggested by the *Visuddhimagga* passages discussed by Schopen. I know of no other reference where observances specically focused on "temple terraces" are specified.

The *Visuddhimagga* passages are more difficult to explain. My only suggestion is that *Khandakavattāni*, which we have already seen is not strictly a technical term, may have had an even broader field of reference. Perhaps it grouped a range of practices according to their family resemblances, rather than by their common origin in specific parts of the *Vinaya*.

III

At the end of his article, Schopen seems to anticipate alternative interpretations of *khandakavattāni*, and he offers another implication of his research and discussion:

> "If this interpretation is not correct, and if the Pāli *Vinaya* did not contain rules, then it either could not have been the *Vinaya* which governed early Buddhist monastic communities in India, or it presents a very incomplete picture of early and actual monastic behaviour and has — therefore — little historical value as a witness for what we know actually occurred on a large scale at all of the earliest monastic sites in India that we have some knowledge of."[1]

These comments raise questions of a completely different order about the Pāli *Vinaya* as a historical document and I would like to conclude this reply with a response to them.

We are all well aware that there is a vast and intimidating literature associated with the *Vinaya*. This literature does, however, make it clear that Theravādins found the *Vinaya* both too little and too much. They found it too little in so far as the canonical text required elucidation and clarification, and as a result, massive commentaries and

[1] Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 100.

glossaries were written on it; we have been using some of these in the course of this discussion. They found it too much in so far as the size of the canonical *Vinaya* made it unwieldly and they consequently wrote diverse summaries and compendiums, including Buddhadatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya* and Sāriputta's *Muttaka-Vinaya-vinicchaya*. Such works were written to present the *Vinaya*'s practical message in a more manageable fashion. In a similar vein, handbooks like the *Khuddasikha*, *Mulasikha*, *Heraṇasikha*, and indeed the *katikāvatas* themselves were written to provide even more practical guidance. This associated literature makes relating the canonical *Vinaya* to actual practice in diverse contexts more complex than has generally been admitted by students of Buddhism.

The supporting evidence concerning the routine participation of monks in the *stūpa* cult, which Schopen considers in the course of developing his main hypothesis, clearly indicates that the *Vinaya* does not address every aspect of Buddhist monastic life.[1] This does not mean, however, that it consequently has little historical value.

Schopen may be right, I think, to suggest that the canonical *Vinaya* text is not as useful as once thought as a ready source for extracting usable historical data. For this, archeological evidence and the evidence found in the different monastic handbooks may give more accurate answers to our questions. Even so, reconstructing the general historical context of early Buddhist monasticism may ultimately depend on the extent to which we can penetrate the thought-world of the larger texts, and especially the canonical *Vinaya*.

[1] Schopen ("Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 98) holds T.W. Rhys Davids up for criticism for saying that the Pāli *Vinaya* "enters at so great length in all (Schopen's emphasis) the details of the daily life of the recluses." Perhaps we may excuse Rhys Davids' hyperbole; he was, after all, describing a text which contains rules against building a fire to smoke out those who take too long in the latrine.

An important historical value of the canonical *Vinaya* lies in its being a coherent expression of a particular Buddhist *mentalité*. It will only be after we have learned how to combine our interest in "what really happened" with a sensitivity to the changing thought-worlds of the Therāvada that we will begin to discern the historical reality behind the literary and archeological traces of ancient Buddhist monasticism.

Chicago Charles Hallisey

A NOTE ON DHAMMAPĀLA(S)

Of the works ascribed by tradition[1] to Dhammapāla, the *Paramatthamañjūsā* (*Visuddhimagga-mahā-ṭīkā*, abbr. Vism-mhṭ) and the *ṭīkās* on the first three *nikāyas* (that on the *Aṅguttara* having presumably disappeared by the time of Sāriputta in the twelfth century) are usually assumed to be by the same author, referred to as Dhammapāla II: e.g., Mr Norman writes:[2]

> "In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that the Gandhavaṃsa is correct in stating that the *ṭīkās* to the Visuddhimagga and the four *nikāyas* are by the same person."

Some authors follow tradition in identifying this author with the author of the *Paramatthadīpanī*, referred to by others as Dhammapāla I.

Near the beginning of Vism-mhṭ occurs the following passage:[3]

> *etth' āha "kasmā panāyaṃ Visuddhimagga-kathā vatthu-pubbikā āraddhā, na Satthu-thomanāpubbikā ?" ti. vuccate "visuṃ asaṃvaṇṇanādibhāvato": Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ādayo viya hi Dīghanikāy'-ādīnaṃ nāyaṃ visuṃ saṃvaṇṇanā, na pakaraṇantaraṃ vā Abhidhammāvatāra-Sumatāvatār'-ādi viya;*

[1] E.g. *Gandhavaṃsa*, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS* 1886.
[2] *A History of Indian Literature*, ed. Jan Gonda, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, vol. VII *Buddhist and Jaina Literature*, fasc. 2 *Pali Literature, including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, K. R. Norman, 1983, p. 149.
[3] Buddhaghosācariya's *Visuddhimaggo* with *Paramatthamañjūsāṭīkā* of Bhadantācariya Dhammapāla, ed. [in Nāgarī] Dr Rewatadhamma, vol. I, 1969, Pāli-Granthamālā 3, Varanasi, p. 2.

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THE STŪPA CULT AND THE EXTANT PĀLI VINAYA

1989

One of the more curious things about the Pāli *Vinaya* as we have it is that it contains no rules governing the behaviour of monks in regard to *stūpas*. In this respect it is, among the various *Vinayas* that have come down to us, unique: "tous les *Vinayapiṭaka* ... à la seule exception du Vinaya pāli, contiennent", according to A. Bareau, "d'intéressantes données concernant la construction et le culte des *stūpa*".[1] Professor Bareau seems to see the absence of such "données" in the Pāli *Vinaya* as a function of the chronology of the compilation of the various *Vinayas*, and seems to suggest that the absence of such material in the Pāli *Vinaya* results from the relatively earlier date of the 'closing' of its compilation.[2] Gustav Roth explains the absence of such rules in the Pāli *Vinaya* in a somewhat different way: "The Pāli tradition apparently did not include such a section, as the compilers of the ancient Pāli canon were governed by a tradition according to which the construction and worship of a *stūpa* was the concern of laymen, and not of monks. Therefore, there was felt to be no need for a particular *stūpa*-section to be included in the *Khandhaka*-section of the Pāli *Vinaya*".[3] There is, however, a passage in a 12th Century Sinhalese *Katikāvata*, or monastic

[1] A. Bareau, "La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les *vinayapiṭaka*", *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 229: my emphasis.

[2] Bareau, *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 230; 267-68; 273-74.

[3] G. Roth, "Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa according to the Tibetan Version of the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, the Sanskrit Treatise Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana, and a Corresponding Passage in Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgraha", *The Stūpa. Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. A.L. Dallapiccola & S.Z. Lallemant (Wiesbaden: 1980) 186; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature. Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism* (A History of Indian Literature, ed. J. Gonda, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2) (Wiesbaden: 1983) 23, cites Roth's explanation as probable.

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code, a passage in the *Visuddhimagga*, and several passages in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, which might suggest quite a different possible explanation.

The *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*, which has come down to us in a 12th Century inscription from Galvihāra,[4] was promulgated as a part of one of the many attempts to "purify" or "reform" the Śri Lankan *Saṅgha*, and its authors claim that it "was formulated also without deviating from the tradition of the lineage of preceptors [*ädurol = ācārya-kula*] and after the consultation of Dhamma and Vinaya".[5] One of the sections intended to regulate the daily life of the monks says, in part, in Ratnapala's translation:

> "They should rise at dawn and pass the time walking up and down (for the sake of bodily exercise). Thereafter they should wear the cīvara covering themselves properly with it and after they have finished cleaning the teeth and have attended to the duties specified in the Khandhaka such as the duties pertaining to Stūpas, the great bodhi-tree, the temple terrace, the teachers, the Theras, the sick and the lodging places (*dahagab māṁbo aṅgaṇa-vatu-du äduru-vat tera-vat gilan-vat senasun-vat ā kandu-vatu-du sapayā*), should if need arise enter the refectory ... ".[6]

[4] This inscription was first published in E. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, 2 Vols. (London: 1883) Text: pp. 87-90; 120-24; Plates: no. 137. It was re-edited in D.M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruva, Gal-Vihara: Rock-Inscription of Parakrama Bahu I", *Epigraphia Zeylonica* 2 (1928) 256-83; and most recently in N. Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas. Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th Century to the 18th Century* (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft N) (München: 1971) 37-44; 127-35.

[5] Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas*, 38, 129; 304.

[6] Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas*, 40, § 12 (text); 131-32 (translation). Exactly the same reading of the text was given earlier by de Zilva Wickremasinghe, and his translation of it differs only very slightly: " ... and have attended to the duties specified in the Khandhaka, such as those rules of conduct in respect of the Dāgābas, etc." (*Epigraphia Zeylonica* 2 (1928) 271, 275). (The version of this passage repeated in the *Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata*, which "belongs to the reign of king Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270 A.D.)", differs slightly: *dahagab mahabō*

It would appear from his translation that Ratnapala understood the *Katikāvata* to be saying that all the "duties" enumerated here were "specified" in the *Khandhaka*, and that he assumes that *Khandhaka-* here refers to the portion of the *Vinaya* so named. But this would suggest, if Ratnapala's interpretation of the text is correct, that the authorities who drafted this *Katikāvata* in the 12th Century knew — and presupposed that their intended audience knew — a *Khandhaka* which contained rules concerning "duties pertaining to Stūpas". The *Khandhaka-vatta*, or "duties specified in the *Khandhaka*", were, again according to Ratnapala, specifically identified by Mahāsvāmi Śāriputra — a leading figure and *Vinaya* authority contemporary with the promulgation of the *Katikāvata* — with "the major and minor duties enumerated in the *Vatta-khandhaka*, i.e. Vin II 207-30".[7] Śāriputra, then, also understood *Khandhaka-vatta* to refer to the text of the *Vinaya*, and his specificity, in fact, should make it easy to locate these rules. But when we look at Vin II 207-30 it becomes clear that although there are now rules there regarding "the teachers, the Theras, the sick and the lodging places", Vin II 207-30, as we have it, does not contain a word about *stūpas*. This might suggest either that Śāriputra was wrong in his identification of the *Khandhaka-vatta* with these specific pages, or that the compilers of the *Katikāvata* knew — and expected contemporaries to have — a *Vinaya* different from the one we have, a *Vinaya* which had a fuller text of Vin II 207-30 than the one that has come down to us. Oddly enough, even if Śāriputra was wrong in his specific identification we are still left in much the same position: even if the *Katikāvata* is not specifically referring to Vin II 207-30 it must at

aṅgana-vatu-du äduru-vat tera-vat gilan-vat senasun-vat ā vatu-du sapayā (61, § 96). It is hard to know for certain whether the omission here of *kandu-* is anything but scribal. It is not noted by Ratnapala, nor reflected in his translation, 158, § 96).

[7] Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas*, 193, 197; cf. 290. References to the Pāli *Vinaya* are here and throughout to the Pali Text Society edition by H. Oldenberg.

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least be referring to the *Vinaya*,[8] and it is not just in Vin II 207-30 that there are no references to "duties pertaining to Stūpas", there are no references to such duties anywhere in the Pāli *Vinaya* that we know. It is, however, not just the authors of our *Katikāvata* who appear possibly to have known a Pāli Vinaya different from the one we have.

Buddhaghosa refers on several occasions in his *Visuddhimagga* to the *Khandhaka* and there is, I think, no doubt about what he understood by the term. In one place he says: *ubhato-Vibhaṅgapariyāpannaṃ vā ādibrahmacariyakaṃ, khandhakavattapariyāpannaṃ ābhisamācarikaṃ*, which Pe Maung Tin translates as "Or, that which is included in both the Vibhanga's is the 'major precept'; that which is included in the Khandhaka duties is the 'minor precept'".[9] At another place he refers to the "proper duties" promulgated by the Blessed One in the *Khandhaka* (*yan taṃ bhagavatā ... khandhake sammāvattaṃ paññattaṃ*) and then quotes a passage similar to that found in our *Katikāvata* which is found

[8] Cf. T.W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: 1921-25) 234; Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity* (Pali Text Society Trans. Series, Nos. 11, 17, 21) (London: 1923-31; repr. 1971) 14 n. 4; 117 n. 3; etc.; which are discussed more fully below.

[9] H.C. Warren & D. Kosambi, *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 41) (Cambridge: 1950) I.27 (p. 10); Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity*, 14. In addition to the instances in the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa frequently refers to the *Khandhakavatta* in the *Samantapāsādikā* (see H. Kopp, *Samantapāsādikā. Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. VIII (Indexes to Vols. I-VII) (Pali Text Society Text Series No. 167) (London: n.d.) 1511), at least. Although these references add some detail, they do not seem to suggest a referent for the term other than the text of the *Vinaya*. It should, however, be noted that the "conclusions" drawn in what follows about the *Khandhaka* known to Buddhaghosa raise some serious questions about the relationship of the *Samantapāsādikā* to the text of the *Vinaya* it was commenting on, and the nature and extent of that text. Such problems will only be resolved by a careful and thorough study of this massive commentary in comparison with the *Vinaya* as we have it. Such a study remains to be done.

now at Vin II 231.[10] It seems fairly obvious, then, that when Buddhaghosa uses the terms *Khandhaka* or *Khandhaka-vatta* he is always referring to the text of the "canonical" *Vinaya* which he knew. This is of some importance because in yet another passage in his *Visuddhimagga* he refers his readers to the *Khandhaka* for rules regarding many of the same things that the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu-katikāvata* refers to. The passage in question reads:

> *āgantukaṃ pana bhikkhuṃ disvā āgantukapaṭisanthāro kātabbo va. avasesāni pi cetiyaṅgaṇavatta-bodhiyaṅgaṇavatta-uposathāgāravatta-bhojanasālājantāghara-ācariyupajjhāya-āgantuka-gamikavattādīni sabbāni khandhakavattāni pūretabbān' eva*

which Pe Maung Tin translates as:

> "On seeing a guest-monk, he should give him the greetings due to a guest. All the remaining *Khandhaka* duties should be performed, such as the duties of the shrine-yard, the yard of the Bo-tree, the sacred-service hall, the dining-hall, the fire-room, the duties towards the teacher, the preceptor, guests".[11]

It is clear from his translation that Pe Maung Tin understood *Khandhaka* in the *Visuddhimagga* to be a proper name or the title of a work. Rhys Davids and Stede before him understood the term in the *Visuddhimagga* in the same way. Citing the same passages we have cited above from the *Visuddhimagga* Rhys Davids and Stede defined *khandhakavatta* as "duties or observances specified in the v. khandha or chapter of the Vinaya which deals with these duties".[12] But if these scholars are correct, then it is hard to avoid concluding from the passage just cited that, like the authors of the *Katikāvata* who knew a *Khandhaka* containing rules "pertaining to *stūpas*", Buddhaghosa knew a *Khandhaka*

[10] Warren & Kosambi, *Visuddhimagga* III.71 (p. 82); Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity*, 117. For other similar *Vinaya* passages see Vin II 223; I 46 foll.

[11] Warren & Kosambi, *Visuddhimagga* VI.60 (p. 153); Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity*, 215.

[12] Rhys Davids & Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, 234.

that contained rules concerning "the shrine-yard" or *cetiyaṅgaṇa*. Since he was — again like the authors of the *Katikāvata* — giving practical instructions to his "readers" it is again difficult to avoid the assumption that he assumed that they would know or be able to consult a similar *Khandhaka*. But, although the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese, for example, has rules concerning what Professor Bareau translates as "l'enceinte du *stūpa*",[13] and although the Sanskrit version of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* has rules regarding the *stūpāṅgaṇa*,[14] the Pāli *Vinaya* as we have it does not have a single reference to the *cetiyaṅgaṇa* or *stūpāṅgaṇa*.[15]

Unless Ratnapala, Pe Maung Tin, Rhys Davids and Stede are all wrong in their interpretation of the compound *khandhakavatta*, unless, in short, we do not understand what the term actually refers to, these two passages — one from the 5th Century *Visuddhimagga*, the other from a 12th Century Sinhalese *Katikāvata* — seem to suggest that there is a distinct probability that the Pāli *Vinaya*, like virtually all the other *Vinayas* known to us, had once contained specific "duties pertaining to *stūpas*" and "duties of the shrine-yard". It is, moreover, not just sources external to the Pāli *Vinaya* like the *Visuddhimagga* and *Mahā-*

[13] Bareau, *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 251, 253.

[14] R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu. Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin* (Serie Orientale Roma L.) (Roma: 1978) 38.29; 39.2.

[15] Questions concerning "duties in regard to the yard of the Bo-tree" in the Pāli and other *Vinayas* will also have to be investigated; but given our ignorance in regard to the place of "Bo-trees" in Indian monastic communities, and given the great importance assigned to their presence in Sri Lanka, this will require a separate study. It is, however, perhaps worth noting here that the only clear reference that I know in Indian inscriptional sources to a shrine connected with a Bo-tree explicitly connects that "shrine" with a Sri Lankan monastic community. The "Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F" from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records the benefactions of the Upāsikā Bodhisiri. One of these is said to have been the construction of "a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhaḷa-vihāra": *sīhaḷa-vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāsādo* (J.Ph. Vogel, "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda", *Epigraphia Indica* 20 (1929-30) 22-23).

Parākramabāhu-katikāvata which seem to suggest that this *Vinaya* may have originally contained such rules. There are indications within the Pāli *Vinaya* itself which would seem to point to much the same conclusion.

Although, as we have already noted, the Pāli *Vinaya* as we have it, and more particularly the *Khandhaka*, has no rules specifically governing behaviour in regard to *stūpas*, *stūpas* — or at least *cetiyas* — are taken for granted as an integral part of the monastic life in at least four passages in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. We might look briefly at these.

In discussing the passage from the *Visuddhimagga* above I have assumed that Buddhaghosa's *cetiyaṅgaṇa* was the Pāli equivalent for the Mūlasarvāstivādin *stūpāṅgaṇa* and of the "l'enceinte du *stūpa*" found in the Chinese *Vinayas*. Given the narrative uses and descriptions of the *cetiyaṅgaṇa* in Buddhaghosa it would be hard to argue otherwise. But if this equivalence of *cetiya* and *stūpa* holds here it may hold elsewhere as well. Two of the four passages from the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* which concern us, for example, deal with property rights in, and the tripartite economic structure of, Buddhist monastic establishments. The first of these — Vin III 266 — reads:

> *saṃghassa pariṇataṃ aññasaṃghassa vā cetiyassa vā pariṇāmeti, āpatti dukkaṭassa. cetiyassa pariṇataṃ aññacetiyassa vā saṃghassa vā puggalassa vā pariṇāmeti, āpatti dukkaṭassa. puggalassa pariṇataṃ aññapuggalassa vā saṃghassa vā cetiyassa vā pariṇāmeti, āpatti dukkaṭassa.*

And I.B. Horner translates the passage as:

> "If he appropriates what was apportioned to the Order for another (part of the) Order or for a shrine, there is an offence of wrong-doing. If he appropriates what was apportioned to a shrine for an Order or for an individual, there is an offence of wrong-doing. If he appropriates what was apportioned to an individual for another individual or for an Order or for a shrine, there is an offence of wrong-doing".[16]

[16] I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. II (London: 1940) 162.

This passage, and the virtually identical passage at Vin IV 156, can, I think, only represent the Pāli versions of similar discussions of property rights found in Sanskrit in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and in several *Vinayas* now preserved in Chinese. In the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, for example, we find:

> *bhagavān āha | sarvasaṃghaṃ sannipātyāsau lakṣitavyaḥ | kiṃ sambhinnakārī na vā iti | yadi sambhinnakārī | sāṃghikaṃ staupikaṃ karoti | staupikaṃ vā sāṃghikam | evam adhārmikam |*
> "The Blessed One said: 'Having assembled the whole community, this is to be considered: is this a (case for) making a full division [or: 'mixed distribution'], or is it not ? If there is a full division (and) it takes what belongs to the Saṅgha as what belongs to the *stūpa*, or what belongs to the *stūpa* as what belongs to the Saṅgha — such (a procedure) is not in conformity with the Dharma (*de lta bu chos dang mi mthun pa yin pas*)".[17]

In regard to the Chinese *Vinayas* Professor Bareau notes, for example, that "les Sarvāstivādin parlent aussi des biens inépuisables du *stūpa*, qui sont inaliénables. Les biens qui sont donnés en offrande au *stūpa* ne peuvent être utilisés à d'autres fins. On ne doit pas les mélanger avec les biens de la Communauté des quatre directions, ni avec les biens consistant en nourriture, ni avec les biens à partager".[18]

[17] N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 2 (Srinagar: 1942) 145.15-146.1; D.T. Suzuki, *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* (Tokyo-Kyoto: 1955) 41, 284-2-2 foll. I am not altogether sure I have completely understood this passage. The text is extremely terse and the technical meaning of *sambhinnakārī* is not well established. I have followed my understanding of the Tibetan translation and the problems do not in any case affect my point here: discussions of property rights similar to those in the Pāli *Sutta-vibhaṅga* which occur in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* refer frequently to *staupika* or indicate that what is *buddhasantaka* is to be used for the *stūpa*; cf. *Gilgit Manuscripts* III 2, 143.11; Peking, Vol. 44, 95-3-4 foll.; etc.

[18] Bareau, *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 257; cf. J. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du V^e^ au X^e^ siècle* (Paris: 1956) 61 foll.; 159 foll. For the persistence in Mahāyāna sūtra literature of both the vocabulary and conception of ownership found in the various *Vinayas* see G. Schopen, "Burial 'ad sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archeology of Religions", *Religion* 17 (1987) 207-08.

It would seem fairly certain that the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* passage, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* passage, and the Sarvāstivādin material summarized by Bareau are all dealing with the same basic concern: the distribution of property to, and the ownership rights of, the different corporate or juristic entities within a monastic establishment. The fact that in exactly similar contexts the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayas* speak of *stūpas* or that which "belongs to the *stūpas*" (*staupika*), and the Pāli *Sutta-vibhaṅga* speaks of *cetiyas*, would seem again to suggest that the two terms are equivalent, that *cetiya* in these contexts is the Pāli equivalent for *stūpa*. It is interesting to note that the Pāli preference for *cetiya* may in fact represent a relatively late South Indian influence on the vocabulary of the Pāli *Vinaya*. At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, for example, what elsewhere would be called a *stūpa* is, in the inscriptions, consistently referred to as a *cetiya*.[19]

[19] cf. G. Schopen, "On the Buddha and His Bones: The Conception of a Relic in the Inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988) 536. Apart from the odd rule "qui interdisent de faire un *stūpa* avec la nourriture puis de le démolir et de le manger" which the Pāli *Vinaya* shares with that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda according to Bareau (*Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 271 — if that is what *thūpikata* actually means), the only actual occurrence of the term *stūpa* in the Pāli *Vinaya* occurs in the bizarre story concerning "the group of six nuns" found at Vin IV 308-09. Here it said that "the Venerable Kappitaka the Venerable Upāli's preceptor" destroyed the *stūpa* that "the group of six" had built for one of their deceased members. This story of an uncharacteristically violent and almost sacrilegious act may be peculiar to the Pāli *Vinaya*. The same rule appears to be explained by a very different story in the *Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇi-Vinaya*, for example (A. Hirakawa, *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns. An English Translation of the Chinese Text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇi-Vinaya* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, No. XXI) (Patna: 1982) 284-86). It may also be related to what

But if *cetiya* in these contexts, and in the compound *cetiyaṅgaṇa*, is the Pāli equivalent of *stūpa*, then it is equally possible that it is being used in the same way in the two remaining passages we must mention from the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. *Saṅghādisesa* V prohibits monks from acting as "go-betweens" (*sañcaritta*) but notes that "there is no offence if it is for the Order, or for a shrine, or if he is ill; if he is going on business, if he is mad, if he is a beginner" (*anāpatti saṃghassa vā cetiyassa vā gilānassa vā karaṇīyena gacchati, ummattakassa, ādikammikassā ti*).[20] Similarly, in the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, Pācittiya* XLIV, which prohibits nuns from doing household work, cooking, etc., it is said that "there is no offence if it [cooking, etc.] is a drink of conjey, if it is for the Order; if it is for worship at a shrine ... " (*anāpatti yāgupāne saṃghabhatte cetiya-pūjāya* ...).[21] If Pāli *cetiya* in these two passages does not refer to what in other *Vinayas* would be called *stūpas* it is hard to know what it could refer to. The *cetiya* in these passages is an "object" for whose worship nuns can properly prepare food and for whose sake monks can engage in

appears to be an explicitly local Sri Lankan resistance to *stūpas* for the local monastic dead. At least the argument against the erection of *stūpas* for "virtuous puthujjana monks" found in the Sri Lankan commentaries is a purely local one: *puthujjanabhikkhūnaṃ hi thūpe anuññāyamāne tambapaṇṇadīpe gāmapaṭṭanānaṃ okāso ca na bhaveyya tathā aññesu ṭhānesu*, "for were a *stūpa* to be allowed for puthujjana monks there would be no room for any villages or cities in Tambapaṇṇadīpa (Ceylon), likewise in other places" (P. Masefield, *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism* (London: 1986) 23). To what degree this resistance was purely literary remains to be seen although Longhurst already long ago noted that "the *stūpas* erected over the remains of ordinary members of the Buddhist community were very humble little structures. The ashes of the dead were placed in an earthenware pot and covered with a lid, and the humble little *stūpa* erected over it. Plenty of Buddhist *stūpas* of this class may still be seen in the Madras Presidency and also in Ceylon" (A.H. Longhurst, *The Story of the Stūpa* (Colombo: 1936) 14).

[20] I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I (London: 1938) 243; Vin III 143.

[21] I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. III (London: 1942) 329; Vin IV 301.

activities otherwise forbidden to them. It is unlikely therefore that the term here could be referring to local or non-Buddhist "shrines" — the only other "objects" generally referred to by the term in Pāli canonical literature.[22] These considerations, and the fact that the use of Pāli *cetiya* for *stūpa* is virtually assured — as we have seen — elsewhere in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* would certainly support the possibility that it is so used here as well.

If we keep in mind, then, the equivalence of *cetiya* and *stūpa* which seems virtually certain in two cases in the Pāli *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, and likely in two more, it would appear that the Pāli *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, although it has no rules specifically governing behaviour in regard to *stūpas* or *cetiyas*, takes such behaviour, and the existence of *stūpas* or *cetiyas*, very much for granted when it deals with other matters. The rules governing the division of property, acting as a "go-between", cooking foods, etc., all take the *stūpa* or *cetiya* and activity undertaken in regard to it as established and fully integrated elements of the monastic life. This, of course, makes the complete absence of rules specifically concerned with *stūpas* or *cetiyas* in the *Khandhaka* even more striking, and would seem to provide yet another argument for concluding that the Pāli *Khandhaka* must originally have contained such rules. But if — as the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu-katikāvata*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* seem to suggest — the Pāli *Vinaya* had originally contained such rules, then the fact that they are no longer found in the *Vinaya* known to us could, apparently, only be explained by assuming that either they had inadvertently dropped out of the manuscripts or, perhaps, were intentionally written out.

[22] Cf. B.C. Law, "Cetiya in the Buddhist Literature", *Studia Indo-Iranica. Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, hrsg. v. W. Wüst (Leipzig: 1931) 42-48. That *cetiya* is always used in Pāli literature to refer to a *stūpa* is, of course, not being asserted here.

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The comparatively very recent date of the vast majority of the surviving manuscripts for texts in the Pāli canon,[23] coupled with the long and troubled history of their transmission — especially after the 12th Century — could easily account for the loss of material from these texts on a fairly large scale, and makes an uninterrupted transmission of our Pāli texts extremely unlikely. In fact the historical situation would suggest that the transmission was probably interrupted not once, but on several different occasions.[24] It is, therefore, possible to think that the loss of "the duties pertaining to Stūpas" could have occurred in just this way. There is at least one consideration, however, which renders this possibility less forceful and may in fact suggest quite a different process.

In the *Vinayas* surveyed by Bareau — those of the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsaṅghika, Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin — the rules regarding *stūpas*, though concentrated in the various

[23] See, at least, O. von Hinüber, "On the Tradition of Pāli Texts in India, Ceylon and Burma", in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Dritte Folge. Nr. 108) ed. H. Bechert (Göttingen: 1978) 48-57; O. von Hinüber, "Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* , I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse Jg. 1983, Nr.3, 67-79; O. von Hinüber, "Pāli Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand — A Preliminary Report", *Journal of the Siam Society* 71 (1983) 75-88; O. von Hinüber, "Two Jātaka Manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 10 (1985) 1-22; O. von Hinüber, "The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok. A Short Catalogue", *Journal of the Siam Society* 75 (1987) 9-74; O. von Hinüber, "The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 11 (1987) 111-19; P.E.E. Fernando, "A Note on Three Old Sinhalese Palm-Leaf Manuscripts", *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 8 (1982, actually 1985) 146-57.

[24] As one of the many possible sources for the troubled history — both internal and external — of the Sri Lankan Saṅgha from the 12th Century on, see Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas*, 219-32; for Burma see E.M. Mendelson, *Sangha and State in Burma. A Study of Monastic Sectarianism and Leadership* (Ithaca & London: 1975) 31-118; for Thailand, Y. Ishii, *Sangha, State and Society. Thai Buddhism in History* (Honolulu: 1986) 59-66; etc.

Kṣudrakavastus, are scattered throughout this *vastu* and, in some of the collections, in other *vastus* or divisions of the *Vinaya* as well.[25] They do not occur as a single block. Assuming that much the same held for the Pāli *Vinaya*, that although concentrated in a single *vastu* rules regarding *stūpas* would have been scattered throughout it and elsewhere in the *Skandhaka*, it would be easy enough to see how some of these scattered rules could have been lost through accidents of transmission, but that all such rules would have been lost in this way seems very unlikely. In light of this the total absence of rules regarding *stūpas* in the Pāli *Vinaya* would seem to make sense only if they had been systematically removed. But acknowledging the possibility — if not the likelihood — of such a systematic removal having actually occurred is one thing; knowing why it might have occurred is something else again.

One might be tempted to try to explain any removal from the Pāli *Vinaya* of rules regarding *stūpas* by referring to the purported prohibition of monastic participation in the *stūpa*/relic cult which is supposed to occur in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*. This, however, will raise many more questions than answers and, in fact, leads us to much the same conclusion that consideration of the *Katikāvata*, the *Visuddhi-magga*, and the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* suggests. First of all — as I hope to show in some detail elsewhere — the "injunction" addressed to Ānanda concerning *sarīra-pūjā* has nothing to do with an ongoing cult of relics or *stūpas*.[26] This can be shown from the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* itself and

[25] Bareau, *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 50 (1960) 229-30.

[26] The supposed "injunction" occurs, of course, at D II 141,18 (= *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* V.10). Although the details will have to be given elsewhere, it can, I think, be convincingly shown both that *sarīra-pūjā* does not refer to "worship of the relics" but to what we might call "preparation of the body" prior to cremation, and that even as late as the *Milindapañha* the "injunction" at D II 141 was not understood to apply to all monks. Moreover, if this "injunction", by itself, were to account for the absence of rules regarding *stūpas* in the Pāli *Vinaya* we would expect to find that other schools who had a similar text of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* would also have no such rules in their *Vinayas*, but this is not the case.

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related texts, but it is equally clear from other sources as well that any discomfiture with monastic participation in *stūpa* or relic cult activity is distinctly modern. In the *Udāna* version of the story of "Bāhiya of the Bark Garment", for example, there is a clear directive to monks to build *stūpas*: " ... having seen (the body of Bāhiya, the Blessed One) addressed the monks: 'you, monks, must take up the body of Bāhiya of the Bark Garment ! Having put it on a bier, having carried it out, you must cremate it, and you must build a stūpa for it ! For monks, a fellow-monk has died'." (... *disvāna bhikkhū āmantesi*: *gaṇhatha bhikkhave Bāhiyassa dārucīriyassa sarīrakaṃ mañcakaṃ āropetvā nīharitvā jhāpetha thūpañ c' assa karotha, sabrahmacārī vo bhikkhave kālaṅkato ti*).[27] The *Apadāna* version of the same story has the Buddha saying to the monks: ... *thūpaṃ karotha pūjetha*, "You must build a stūpa ! You must worship it !"[28] That these texts give expression to very early practice concerning the disposal of the monastic dead is confirmed by some of the earliest archeological and epigraphical evidence that we have. There is, for example, the group of *stūpas* of the local monastic dead at the monastery complex at Bhāja, "probably one of the oldest Buddhist religious centres in the Deccan";[29] or the old *stūpa* of the "forest dweller" Gobhūti built by his monk pupil at Bedsa;[30] or Stūpa no. 2 at Sāñcī which held the mortuary remains of the local monastic dead, and which Bénisti has recently argued is older even

[27] P. Steinthal, *Udāna* (London: 1885) 8,21 (I.10).
[28] Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, *The Apadāna* (II) — *Buddhavaṃsa-Cariyāpiṭaka* [*Khuddakanikāya*, Vol. VII] (Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli-Series) (Bihar: 1959) 125.16 (54.6.216).
[29] See S. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India* (c. 250 B.C. — c. A.D. 300) (Delhi: 1981) 113-30; 329-30; on the inscriptions associated with these *stūpas* see also D.D. Kosambi, "Dhenukākaṭa", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 30.2 (1955) 70-71.
[30] Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India* 107-8; 329.

than Bharhut:[31] this *stūpa* appears to have been established and largely funded by monks and nuns.[32] The same early kind of evidence proves the early and massive monastic participation in the cult of the relics and *stūpa* of the historical Buddha at Bharhut, Sāñcī and Pauni.[33] Clear evidence for the active participation of monks and nuns in the *stūpa*/relic cult is found as well at other sites. At Pangoraria, in Madhya Pradesh, at a very old monastic site, the *yaṣṭi*, or shaft, and umbrella of the main *stūpa* — both of which were very finely worked — were the gift of a *bhikṣuṇī* and her disciples according to the inscription on the shaft which dates to the 2nd Century B.C.E.[34] The inscriptions on the Bhattiprolu relic caskets, which have been dated variously from the 3rd to the 1st Century B.C.E., show that monks (*samana*) took an active and prominent part in the enshrining of the relics of the Buddha (*budhasarira*) there, both as donors and

[31] M. Bénisti, "Observations concernant le stūpa n° 2 de Sāñcī", *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 4 (1986) 165-70.
[32] For the donative inscription connected with the mortuary deposit see J. Marshall, A. Foucher, & N.G. Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I (Delhi: 1940) 294, although its interpretation there is perhaps not entirely free of problems. Of the 93 donative inscriptions from Stūpa No. 2 at Sāñcī published by Majumdar nearly 60%, or 52, record the gifts of monastics: monks — nos. 631, 638, 640, 644, 646, 647, 648, 655, 656, 657, 669, 675, 677, 688, 691, 693, 694, 695, 702, 709, 716, 719, Büh xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 803, 820; Nuns — nos. 662, 663, 664, 668, 672, 674, 678, 700, 703, 706, 708, 713, 714, Büh xxi, 759, 812; Female disciples — nos. 637, 645, 673, 704; Male disciples — nos. 632, 633, 634, 671.
[33] For monastic donors at Bharhut and Sāñcī see G. Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10 (1985) 23-24 and notes, although the Sāñcī count there is based on the old publications. For Pauni see S.B. Deo & J.P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavations* (1969-70) (Nagpur: 1972) 37-43.
[34] H. Sarkar, "A Post-Asokan Inscription from Pangoraria in the Vindhyan Range", in *Sri Dinesacandrika. Studies in Indology. Shri D.C. Sircar Festschrift*, ed. B.N. Mukherjee, et al. (Delhi: 1983) 403-5.

members of the *gothi* or "committee" that undertook the project.[35] Of the many early inscriptions from Amarāvatī recording gifts of monks connected with the *stūpa* cult we might note that "in Maurya characters" which records the gift of a *dhamakathika* or "preacher of the Dharma".[36] An inscription dating from the 2nd/1st Century B.C.E. from Guntupalli indicates that the "steps leading to the circular brick chaitya-griha" were the gift "of the pupil of the Thera, the Venerable Namda".[37] An early 1st Century C.E. inscription from Karle says: "a pillar containing a relic (*sasariro thabho*), the gift of the Venerable Satimita, a reciter (*bhāṇaka*) belonging to the Dharmottariya School, from Soparaka".[38] A Kharoṣṭhī inscription from 32 B.C.E. records the gift of relics made by a monk which were given to "the Mahīśāsaka teachers".[39] If it is true, therefore, as Rhys Davids asserted long ago, that the Pāli *Vinaya* "enters at so great length into all the details of the daily life of the recluses",[40] then — oddly enough — this archeological and epigraphical evidence would seem to argue for the fact that either the Pāli *Vinaya* must have originally contained rules referring to such activity, or the Pāli *Vinaya* was unknown or had no influence at these early Indian sites, and they are among the earliest that we can know.

[35] G. Bühler, "The Bhattiprolu Inscriptions", *Epigraphia Indica* 2 (1894) 323-29; H. Lüders, "Epigraphische Beiträge. I Die Inschriften von Bhaṭṭiprolu", in *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen: 1940) 213-29; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* , Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: 1965) 224-28.

[36] J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, Surveyed in 1882* (Archaeological Survey of Southern India Vol. I) (London: 1887) 94, pl. LVI no. 3.

[37] I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli", *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 5 (1975) 51.

[38] E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle", *Epigraphia Indica* 7 (1902-03) 55, no. 9.

[39] G. Fussman, "Nouvelles inscriptions - śaka (iv)", *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 74 (1985) 47-51.

[40] T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI) (Oxford: 1900) xlv; my emphasis.

Sri Lankan literary data too suggests monastic concern with and involvement in the relic/*stūpa* cult from the very beginning and, in so doing, would strongly suggest that pre-modern Sri Lankan tradition could not have understood the "injunction" in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* — or any other passage in the canon — to prohibit monastic participation in the cult. Mahinda, the monk *par excellence* and nominal founder of Sri Lankan monasticism, is presented by the tradition itself as intending to leave the island because "it is a long time since we have seen the Perfect Buddha, the Teacher ... There is nothing here for us to worship". The reigning king is puzzled and responds "But, sir, did you not tell me that the Perfect Buddha has entered Nirvāṇa ?"; to which the Monk Mahinda responds in turn: "When the relics are seen (or: are present), the Buddha is seen (or: is present)". The king promises to build a *stūpa*; the Monk Mahinda appoints another monk to fly to India to procure relics; he succeeds; and Mahinda stays.[41] The 'moral' of this tale, written by a monk about a monk, seems obvious: the continuance of Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka depended on procuring a relic and building a *stūpa* so that the monks would have an object of worship. The relic and *stūpa* cult were, therefore, seen by the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* as a primary concern of the monastic community and a necessary prerequisite for its continuance. That such a pivotal part of the institution would have been left out of the rules that governed the early community seems very unlikely.

It would seem, then, that there is much to suggest the likelihood of the interpretation of the *Katikāvata* and *Visuddhimagga* passages, and of the data in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, presented here. But even if this interpretation turns out not to be entirely correct, in considering it we have come upon further considerations which seem to indicate at least

[41] W. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṃsa* (London: 1908) XVII.2-3. On the conception of a relic which is being articulated here see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo: 1946) 136 foll.; Schopen, *Religion* 17 (1987) 193-225; Schopen, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988) 527-37.

that the absence of rules regarding stūpas in the Pāli *Vinaya* is much more problematic for the historian than has heretofore been recognized. If the interpretation presented here is correct, the Pāli *Vinaya*, like all the *Vinayas* had such rules and they were removed at a comparatively recent date. If this interpretation is not correct, and if the Pāli *Vinaya* did not contain such rules, then it either could not have been the *Vinaya* which governed early Buddhist monastic communities in India, or it presents a very incomplete picture of early and actual monastic behaviour and has — therefore — little historical value as a witness for what we know actually occurred on a large scale at all of the earliest monastic sites in India that we have some knowledge of. The whole question clearly deserves further consideration.

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PATNA DHARMAPADA

Part I: Text

The Manuscript

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The script of Patna can be classed among those called by Bühler (Indian Palaeography, English edition, Bombay 1904, p 48) Proto-Bengali. He gives among his examples the Deopāra Inscription of Vijayasena (Table V, column XVIII; EI 1 (1882) p 308), dated by Kielhorn in EI 1to the end of the eleventh century AD; and the Cambridge MSS Add.1699, 1-2 (Table VI, column X) dated 1198-9 AD. To these can be added the Gayā Inscription mentioning Govindapāla (EI 35 (1963-4) p 238) dated 1175-6 AD. All three texts are in Sanskrit, and so contain for the most part different conjunct consonants from Patna.

A comparison of Patna with the Gayā Inscription shows a very close similarity between all the single akṣaras found in both texts, with the exception of *visarga*. (No examples of initial *i-* and *u-*, single *cha, jha,*

that the absence of rules regarding stūpas in the Pāli *Vinaya* is much more problematic for the historian than has heretofore been recognized. If the interpretation presented here is correct, the Pāli *Vinaya*, like all the *Vinayas* had such rules and they were removed at a comparatively recent date. If this interpretation is not correct, and if the Pāli *Vinaya* did not contain such rules, then it either could not have been the *Vinaya* which governed early Buddhist monastic communities in India, or it presents a very incomplete picture of early and actual monastic behaviour and has — therefore — little historical value as a witness for what we know actually occurred on a large scale at all of the earliest monastic sites in India that we have some knowledge of. The whole question clearly deserves further consideration.

Bloomington Gregory Schopen

PATNA DHARMAPADA

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ṭa and *ḍha* occur in the Gayā Inscription.) The few conjuncts they have in common, eg *sta*, *ṣṭa*, *ṣṭha* and *ndra*, are also very similar, but *ku* is different, Gayā retaining the basic shape of *ka*, while Patna does not. The inscription also begins with the same symbol (for *siddhaṃ*) as is found in Patna.

The Deopāra Inscription, although recognisably the same script, is not so closely related to Patna, but does confirm the signs for initial *i-* and *u-*, *jha*, *ṭa* and *ḍha*, and exhibits clearly such conjuncts as *ñca* and *ñja*. It agrees, however, with the Gayā Inscription against Patna in its signs for *ku* and *visarga*.

The Cambridge MSS Add.1699, 1-2 are in a more flamboyant hand, but basically the signs are very similar to Patna. In this case the similarity includes *ku* and *visarga*, but initial *i-* differs somewhat. The symbols used to number the leaves of Patna resemble closely those used in Cambridge MS Add.1699, 2.

The same type of script is used in the MS of the Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya (Bhī Vin) of the Mahāsaṅghikalokottaravādins, also photographed in Tibet by Saṅkṛtyāyana, and edited by G Roth (Patna 1970). Roth describes the MS and script in his introduction (pp XVIII-XXVII), and reproduces six leaves of the MS (facing p XXVI). A comparison of Patna with this photograph reveals a very close resemblance (the Bhī Vin MS is better and more clearly written). Again, as in the other examples of the script, the language of the Bhī Vin is basically Sanskrit, and so uses different conjunct consonants. The two scripts are not absolutely identical: Bhī Vin always uses for medial *-i-* a sign above the *akṣara* very similar to nāgarī *-e*, whereas Patna uses sometimes a vertical to the left arching over the *akṣara*, and sometimes a simple arch. Bhī Vin's initial *i-* has not the right vertical found in Patna (and in the Deopāra Inscription). Bhī Vin's *la* and *śa* have a double arch (this is true of almost all the other examples discussed), while Patna *śa* is closer to *ga*, and *la* to nāgarī *ta* (in this Cambridge Add.1699, 1 agrees). The forms of *ttha* differ, Patna resembling the nāgarī form. None of these examples has *-ā* written as a hook above the *akṣara* as Patna has occasionally (cf eg the final syllable of

vijāneyā, 3 A vi), but this practice can be seen in the Cambridge MS Add.1643 (1015 AD).

These comparisons suggest that Patna can be dated in the second half of the twelfth century AD.

The photograph of the MS is not easy to read. Some of the leaves are overlapped by others; drawing-pins obscure some lines; and some of the leaves are blurred. In addition, the script itself can be ambiguous: *s* and *m* are indistinguishable, as are *v* and *b*, *t* and *bh*, and *tt* and *tu*; *p*, *y* and *d* can also look very alike, as can *ś* and *g*. Subscript *r* in *tr* is particularly hard to be sure of, and it will be seen that I accept its presence much more rarely than Roth or Shukla.

It is clear that disagreements over readings are very probable, especially when we have no exact parallel in another text. I have recorded all occasions where Roth and/or Shukla differ from my reading, even where their readings are obviously printing errors. Unless I comment otherwise, I am convinced of my reading, either because I believe the MS testimony is clear, or because a parallel supports one possible alternative rather than another.

I have transcribed what the MS has, as far as I can, without any editorial work of correcting, or making consistent, and supplying missing words or syllables (in square brackets) only if we can be certain of what they must have been. On a few occasions I have placed in round brackets possible alternative readings, or have added hyphens to make clear how I understand the text. I have also bracketed with < > obvious mistakes. Otherwise I say with the last Patna scribe: *yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitam iti parihāro 'yam asmadīyaḥ*.

OLD BODIES LIKE CARTS

In a famous passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* the Buddha, feeling old and ill, says to his attendant Ānanda — according to the PTS edition[1]:

> *Seyyathā pi Ānanda jara-sakaṭaṃ vegha-missakena yāpeti, evam eva kho Ānanda vegha-missakena maññe Tathāgatassa kāyo yāpeti.*

Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate[2]: '. . . and just as a worn-out cart, Ânanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathâgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up.'

The identical passage occurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*[3]. There the PTS editor, Fèer, reads *vedha-missakena* both times.

The word *vegha-missakena* has already attracted attention in this *Journal*. In 1884 the Revd. Richard Morris devoted four pages[4] and much ingenuity to its explication.

Almost the same word occurs at *Thera-gāthā* 143. The PTS edition reads:

> *Ye kho te veghamissena nānatthena ca kammunā*
> *manusse uparundhanti pharusupakkamā janā*
> *te pi tath' eva kīranti, na hi kammaṃ panassati.*

K. R. Norman translates: 'These people of harsh effort, who molest men with an action involving nooses and varying in aims, are treated in the same way, for their action does not perish.' In his note on the verse[5], he too discusses various readings and interpretations.

I need not here repeat full details of the variant readings and suggested interpretations; they can be read in or traced through the secondary sources cited above. *Vegha-* is variously read as *vekha-*, *veṭha-*, *vetha-*, *vedha-*, *vesa-*, *veḷu-*. The commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* must have read *vegha-*, because it glossed it as *veghana-*.[6] On the other hand, the commentary on the same passge in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* in the PTS edition has *veṭhana-* for *veghana-*; if this is correct it

presumably glosses *veṭha-* in the text. The *Dīgha* sub-commentary[7] apparently read *vekha-*; there are many variants but neither *veṭha-* nor *vegha-* is among them. The commentary on the *Thera-gāthā*[5] glosses *vekha-*, but also reports the variant reading *vedha-*.

The conclusion seems to me inescapable: the tradition is utterly confused and at a loss what to read.

The commentarial tradition of interpretation, however, is unequivocal: the word *ve(X)a-* means 'strap, thong'. The *Dīgha* commentary gives this interpretation the first time the word occurs, because it seems to fit that context: one can hold together a tumbledown cart with straps. The *Thera-gāthā* commentary takes the same line: *vekha-missenā ti varatta-khaṇḍādinā*.

Since the commentators had no idea what text to read, their interpretation is *prima facie* suspect. All the other commentaries seem simply to have followed the interpretation of the *Dīgha* commentary; and most modern scholars have joined them.

Neither *vegha-* nor *vekha-* is attested elsewhere and no one has suggested a plausible etymology for either. Norman solves this difficulty by reading *veṭha-*. The much greater difficulty, however, is that meanings like 'strap' make very little sense in two of the three occurrences of the word. Though Morris claimed:[4] 'The body of an old man would need some protection from heat and cold, hence, the use of a *bandhana*', the idea that the Buddha was kept going by bandages will not stand scrutiny. Nor is 'an action involving nooses' a likely expression for general maleficence.

The other modern attempts to interpret *ve(X)a-* have failed to find plausible etymologies or meanings appropriate to all three occurrences.

There is a passage in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[8] which is not a close enough parallel to provide a solution and yet may shed light on the Buddha's simile. It describes the process of dying, in this case the death of an enlightened man:

Tad yathânaḥ susamāhitam utsarjaṃ yāyāt, evam evâyaṃ

śārīra ātmā prājñenâtmanânvārūḍha utsarjaṃ yāti, yatraitad ūrdhvocchvāsī bhavati.

'So, as a heavily loaded cart may go along creaking, in the same way the embodied self, mounted (possessed) by the intelligent self, goes creaking, when he comes to breathe out for the last time.'

The heavy, stertorous breathing of the dying man is compared to the creaking of a loaded cart. Whether or not the Buddha knew this passage, it is a direct comparison between a cart which is proceeding with difficulty and the body of a dying man. One is therefore tempted to search for a similarly straightforward comparison in the Buddha's words.

I believe that this can be found by reading *vedha-*. There is support for *vedha-* in the manuscript traditions of all three texts: *Dīgha*, *Saṃyutta* and *Thera-gāthā*. The PED connects *vedhati* with *vyathati* and gives it the meanings 'tremble, quiver, quake, shake'. It also reports *avedha* meaning 'imperturbable' (Sn 322). Sanskrit *vyathā* in Monier-Williams has among its meanings 'agitation, perturbation . . . pain . . . loss, damage'. The cognate past participle *vyathita* has among its meanings 'tottering, rocking, reeling . . . distressed, afflicted'. Thus the semantic field of √*vyath* stretches from involuntary shaking to pain and distress. The old cart would shake without feeling pain, the Buddha painfully. In the *Thera-gāthā* verse the shaking aspect is not relevant; that is only about giving pain.

The PED also supplies appropriate interpretations of *yāpeti* and *missa(ka)-*. *Yāpeti* does not have any passive sense as in the Rhys Davids' translation; it means 'keep going'. *Missa(ka)-* is a noun (as at *Vin* I 33) meaning 'a mixture of various'. So in the *Thera-gāthā* verse I do not take it as a *bahubbīhi* agreeing with *kammunā*, but as a *tappurisa*.

I therefore propose that in all passages we read *vedha-*, and that the noun *vedha-* (presumably masculine) is related to *vyathā* and has the same range of meaning. In the Buddha's simile I translate 'keeps going with various quakings'. The elder's verse I translate 'molest men with a variety of damage'.

OXFORD RICHARD GOMBRICH

Notes

1 D II 100
2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 107.
3 S V 153.
4 *JPTS* 1884, 97–101.
5 *Elders' Verses* I, 154.
6 Sv. II 548.
7 *Dīgha-nikāya-atthakathā-ṭīkā* II 188.
8 IV, 3, 35. I follow the text and interpretation of Senart.

NĀMARŪPASAMĀSO*

According to Malalasekera[1], this text may be assigned to the 10th century and ascribed to a thera, Khema, of Ceylon. Although it was once held in high esteem, it subsequently became better appreciated in Burma where it formed one of the nine *Let-Than* (*Lakkhaṇaganthā*) or 'little finger manuals' of Abhidhamma. A *ṭīkā* was composed in the 12th century by another Sinhalese thera, Vācissara.

In Burma the text is known as the *Khemappakaraṇa* (which would seem to corroborate its authorship) but is also occasionally referred to as the *Paramatthadīpa*.

An original Sinhala MS was discovered in Ambarukkhārāma, Welitara, 'teeming with discrepancies'.[2] With the aid of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and its Commentary, the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, however, it was revised by Baṭapola Dhammapāla, a pupil of C. A. Sīlakkhandha Mahāthera. Both the text and a Sinhala commentary, the *Silipiṭapata*, were subsequently published.[3] In the English Preface Dhammapāla assumed the original author to be Anuruddha (who composed the better known exegetical manual, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, in the 12th century). If it were not Anuruddha himself then the style of language clearly pointed to a contemporary.

In the early 1900s, A. P. Buddhadatta discovered the MSS, in Burmese script, of both the original text and its *ṭīkā* in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. He copied both MSS and these were subsequently utilised by P. Dhammārāma (a pupil of Ariyavaṃsa Mahāthera of Galle, Sri Lanka) in his edition in Roman script.[4] In a Pali introduction, *Nāmarūpa-samāsa-Viññatti*, Dhammārāma acknowledged the authorship of Khema.

For this translation that follows, the first in a Western language, I have taken as my source mainly the Sinhala edition mentioned above.[5]

Let the late Malalasekera have the final word in this introduction: 'The short disquisitions on the various subjects are concisely written in simple, easy style and the whole work

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KALYĀṆAMITTA AND *KALYĀṆAMITTATĀ*

I

In 1962 Ludwig Alsdorf published an article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Asiens*, vol. 6, called "Sasa-jātaka und Śaśa-avadāna". In it he considers a number of stories, found in various *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* collections, two of which — concerning 'The (Wise) Hare' — give his piece its title. He attempts to show how these stories evolved, and how the ideal they exemplify changes from that of generosity, *dāna*, to that of 'good friendship', *kalyāṇamittatā*. In doing so he also suggests the way in which some well-known suttas in the Pali Canon dealing with the latter topic (S I 87–9, V 2–4) have come to have their present form. In a future publication I hope to assess these arguments, which seem to me generally correct, but mistaken on a number of points; I will attempt thus to arrive at a revised text and translation of these suttas, the basic element of which we may call, after L. Feer, 'The Discourse on Following a Good Friend' (*Kalyāṇa-mitta-sevanā-sutta*).[1] The present PTS texts and translations of these passages are seriously defective. In this article I shall be concerned with Alsdorf's other subject, the grammatical analysis of the terms *kalyāṇamitta* and *kalyāṇamittatā* (hereafter *k-m.* and *k-m-tā* respectively). The entries for these terms in PED are unsatisfactory, and they receive a bewildering variety of renderings in published PTS translations. Alsdorf has shown how they are to be correctly analysed and translated; I hope here to confirm and elaborate his account by a comprehensive survey of the use of the terms in all major Pali texts.[2]

Often, but not always, 'good friend', *k-m.*, is a technical term for someone who acts in more or less specific ways as a 'helper on the Path'. A few words may be useful on the relationship between this sense of the term and the wider treatment of friendship (*mittatā*, *mettā* in some of its uses, *sahāyatā*, etc.) in Buddhism. It makes sense, I think, to distinguish three (overlapping) areas or levels.

Firstly, there is the simple sense in which trustworthiness, reciprocity and perhaps a consequent mutual regard are extolled. Anthropology suggests that this universal phenomenon need not necessarily involve our modern sense of friendship as two or more persons' mutual liking and enjoyment of each others' company, although of course it frequently does; the relationship involved can be a straightforwardly reciprocal, indeed quasi-contractual, exchange of goods and services.[3] The miscreant to be avoided here is the one who betrays his friend, in Pali *mitta-dubbha* (or one of many related forms), a theme which recurs constantly throughout the Jātakas and in numerous places in the Sutta-piṭaka. These notions are not specific to Buddhism or even to India.[4] A Buddhist (but not Indian) example can be provided from the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* collection. A hunter who has saved the life of Jambucitta, the snake-king, demands from him a (magic) snake-noose, used for capturing celestial maidens. At first Jambucitta demurs, then gives it to the hunter, who exclaims 'I see you are an ally, Jambucitta, a friend who keeps his promise. I did you a good (service), and (now) you have returned one to me'.[5] These sorts of sentiment are ubiquitous in the Indian collections of gnomic or didactic poetry known as the *subhāṣita* literature,[6] in the recently edited *Nīti* texts from Burma, which share a common stock of 'worldly wisdom' with the Sanskritic tradition,[7] and in collections of fables like the Pañcatantra, whose stories are grouped according to whether they demonstrate the 'Separation' or 'Winning of Friends'.[8] In these contexts, one quite naturally finds words for friend — notably *mitta* — joined with others: *ñātimitta*, 'relatives and friends' (in upper-class English, perhaps, 'one's people'), or *mittāmacca*, 'friends and colleagues'. *Amacca* can mean 'king's minister', and the compound is often used for a king's entourage at court. It is found in (complementary) opposition to *ñātisalohitā*, 'kin and blood-relations' at Sn p. 104. The following version of 'a friend in need is a friend indeed' comes from the Jātakas, and is taken up by later commentarial literature in much more specialised contexts (Ja V 146, 21–4, appropriated at As 349–50, Spk II 252): 'He who is grateful, mindful of past

benefits, a steadfast and devoted good friend (*k-m.*), who dutifully does what is necessary when (his friend is) in trouble, such a one they call a good man'.[9]

Secondly, there is the level at which such sentiments are 'Buddhicised' by being set in a framework of Buddhist morality. This can be done artificially: at Ja VI 14–5, for instance, a series of verses of the general trustworthiness/reciprocity kind are interpreted by the commentary in a specifically Buddhist way. In the commentary to the verse 'one who honours (his friends) receives honour (in return), one who praises (them) receives praise. He who does not betray his friends wins fame and a good reputation', we read that '"one who praises" here means one who praises good friends (*k-m.*) such as the Buddha, etc., and receives praise in return in another life'.[10] It can also be done less artificially, as in the Sigālovāda Sutta, 'The Layman's Vinaya' as Buddhaghosa called it. In an extended discussion of good and bad friends, quite general and not specifically Buddhist ideas — we are warned against, *inter alios*, gamblers, drunks and (false) flatterers — are organised into lists and systematised in a characteristically Buddhist way. Although the term *k-m.* does not appear in this text, its syntactically equivalent opposite *pāpamitta* does, in a way which shows it to be semantically identical to the uncompounded form (D III 187,19–21). Many of the sentiments expressed in relation to good friends are elsewhere said to characterise a *k-m.*, and the commentary uses the term (Sv 949 on D III 187, I foll.). (See further below, p. 57 on the compounded and uncompounded forms of *kalyāṇa/mitta*.)

We reach, *thirdly*, a specifically Buddhist sense of the term when it is applied, with varying degrees of exact denotation, to someone who helps another on the Buddhist Path. The Cullaniddesa (Nidd II 227–8) expresses this in a familiarly schematic way:

> There are two (kinds of) friends: householder friends and monastic (lit. 'homeless') friends.
> What is the householder friend? Here, someone gives what is hard to give, gives up what is hard to give up, does

what is hard to do and endures what is hard to endure; he reveals his own secrets (to you) but conceals (your) secrets (from others); in misfortune he does not forsake you, he will even lay down his life for you,[11] and he does not despise you in distress. What is the monastic friend? Here, a monk is kind, charming, venerable, to be respected, willing to speak and be spoken to; he speaks profound words and never exhorts groundlessly, he urges (one) on in the higher morality and in the meditation-practice of the four foundations of mindfulness.[12]

Versions of both of these descriptions occur in the Aṅguttara, addressed by the Buddha to monks (A IV 31–2), and the first three phrases of the householder-friend are predicated elsewhere of the kind of monk who is 'a friend to be followed' (*mitto sevitabbo*) (A I 286), so it would be wrong to assume that the 'household' virtues do not apply to monks. Nonetheless, the distinction is familiar enough; most of the householder-friend passage occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, where a friend 'shows the way to heaven', and clearly the monastic friend here is concerned with the Path to *nibbāna*. This symbolic dichotomy is a common way in which Buddhist texts accommodate, by subordination, ideas and values not specifically or originally Buddhist. (The virtues of lay friendship, although not specifically Buddhist, inculcate habits and ideals of prudence and moderation, which are the essence of Buddhist *sīla*, so it would be absurd to suggest that there is anything un-Buddhist about them.) Although this symbolic dichotomy does reflect an obvious difference of emphasis in different spheres of Buddhism, I shall cite passages below in which monks are good friends to laymen, and indeed laymen are good friends to each other, in a specifically Buddhist sense (see Sections III 2 (iii) and III 4). In its most specific sense, a monastic good friend is an instructor, with the particular function of choosing a subject for his pupil's meditation practice (see Section III 2 (iv)). This particular role of a 'good friend' should also be seen in the light of the many passages which emphasise the need for harmony and friendly relations among communities of

monks (e,.g. Majjhima Suttas 15, 31, 48, 103, Vinaya Mahāvagga X, etc.). Here the term *mettā* is frequently used: and here the translation of it as 'loving-kindness',[13] which is usual when it refers to the meditation practice of the Brahmavihāras or to one of the Perfections, is less appropriate than the etymologically accurate 'friendship' or 'amity'.

Although in what follows I organise the material in accordance with the syntactical form and usage of the terms *k-m.* and *k-m-tā*, I have tried to choose examples which further exemplify and clarify these three levels in the Buddhist treatment of friendship.

II

As Alsdorf showed, the following are the grammatically possible analyses of the compound *kalyāṇamitta*:

1. as a karmadhāraya, = 'good friend (sc. to others)' — *kalyāṇo mitto (aññesaṃ) hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.
2. as a tatpuruṣa, with (a) a masculine first member, = 'the friend of a good man (good men)' — *kalyāṇassa purisassa (kalyāṇaṃ purisānaṃ) mitto hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.
   or with (b) a neuter first member, = 'a friend of the good (of Virtue)' — *yad kalyāṇaṃ (e.g. sīlaṃ) tassa mitto hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.
3. as a bahuvrīhi, = 'who has a good friend (good friends)' — *assa kalyāṇo mitto hotī (kalyāṇā mittā hontī) ti kalyāṇamitto*.

As Alsdorf says, although many translators, both modern and in the Tibetan tradition, have chosen 2a or 2b, neither of these is correct. For the karmadhāraya use he cites a phrase from the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta*, spoken by the Buddha, with reference to all beings, *mamaṃ . . . kalyāṇamittaṃ āgamma*, 'with (or depending on) me as (their) good friend' (S I 88, V 3,4). As I shall show, it is used in this way of many others also. For the bahuvrīhi sense he cites S I 83, in which the kings Ajātasattu and Pasenadi are said to be *pāpamitto* and *kalyāṇamitto* respectively: as the commentary

explains (Spk I 154, cf. Ps I 189) they have bad and good friends like Devadatta in the one case and monks like Sāriputta in the other.[14] We may notice here two more instances. At Th 682 *k-m.* occurs in a list of virtuous qualities, the possession of which would put an end to *dukkha*. As the commentary notes (Th-a III 7), this is to be taken as 'endowed with good friends' (*kalyāṇehi mittehi samannāgato*). At It 10 a *kalyāṇamitto puggalo* 'abandons what is unprofitable and develops what is profitable' — and the commentary explains that this is because such a person, depending upon his good friend (i.e. his teacher or instructor) acquires, *inter alia*, the knowledge that all beings have their own *kamma*. Here we find the karmadhāraya and bahuvrīhi senses together:*kalyāṇamitto puggalo kalyāṇamittaṃ nissāya kammassakatā-ñāṇaṃ uppādeti* (It-a I 65).[15]

The abstract noun *kalyāṇamittatā* could, in theory, be used to express both the state of 'being a good friend' in the karmadhāraya sense, and that of 'having a good friend' in the bahuvrīhi sense.[16] But as Alsdorf reported and I hope to prove, the former possibility is in fact never found in the texts. The commentary to It 10 just cited gives a form of explanation for *k-m-tā* which is found very frequently: 'a person who has a good friend, endowed with the good qualities of morality and the rest . . . a helper, is called *k-m.* (Being in) this condition is *k-m-tā*'.[17] Similarly, when the Buddha says that he knows of nothing worse for the arising of bad states (*akusala-dhammā*) and the destruction of good ones than *pāpamittatā* (A I 13), the commentary (Mp I 80–1) explains that 'the person who has bad, disreputable friends is called *pāpamitto*. The state (or condition) of being one who has bad friends is called *p-m-tā*'.[18] The commentary to Thī 213 is yet more explicit: in K. R. Norman's translation, the verse reads 'The state of having noble friends has been described by the sage with reference to the world; resorting to noble friends even a fool would be wise', and the commentary, after giving the standard explanation of *k-m-tā*, adds that it means *kalyāṇa-mittavantatā*, literally 'the state (or simply "fact") of having good friends'.[19] The condition of having good friends is not merely a result of good fortune

(Alsdorf's *das Glück* as opposed to *der Vorzug*, op. cit. p. 15): as the sub-commentary to the Dīgha Nikāya remarks (Līnatthavaṇṇanā III 225, on Sv 978 on D III 212), in elucidation of *pāpa-sampavaṅkatā*, 'being inclined to bad (friends)' (on which see further below, p. 64–5), 'the state of mind by which one is inclined to bad (friends) is itself (a part of) bad friendship'.[20]

III

1. 'Good friend(s)' as uncompounded adjective and noun.
I have mentioned that the Sigālovāda Sutta and its commentary use the uncompounded and compounded forms of *kalyāṇa/mitta* and *pāpa/mitta* with no difference in sense. The uncompounded form is found elsewhere, used of both householder and monastic friends. At M I 11 (= A III 389) among the things a monk is to avoid are *pāpake mitte*, glossed by the commentaries as 'disreputable, immoral, false friends, enemies (in the guise of friends)',[21] the latter two terms being commonly used in lay contexts. At Dhp 78, in a verse which would be at home in a general, gnomic or aphoristic text, we read 'do not associate with bad friends (*pāpake mitte*), nor the lowest of men; associate with good friends (*mitte kalyāṇe*), noble men'. The commentary (Dhp-a II 110–2) tells the story of the monk Channa, who reviled Sāriputta and Moggallāna, although they were his *kalyāṇa-mittā*. The passage reproduced at Nidd II 227–8 on the monastic friend is introduced in the Aṅguttara (IV 32) simply with the words 'monks, a friend endowed with seven qualities[22] is to be followed'; and it is regularly found in commentarial exegeses of the compounded form *k-m.* In some other places the uncompounded form occurs (the commentaries give the compound), where the context is plainly monastic: Sn 338, Th 249, 588, 681.

2. the karmadhāraya 'good friend'.

(i) the Buddha.

As we saw, in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta* the Buddha describes himself as the good friend of 'beings' generally.

Here, it is the fact that the Buddha is, as PED has it (p. 199), 'the spiritual friend par excellence', which gives force to the *prima facie* surprising assertion that *k-m-tā* is 'the whole' (*sakalam eva*) of the holy life. (This is not the only explanation of the sentiment, however.)[23] In a long discussion of the 'good friend' as the giver of a meditation subject the Visuddhimagga (98 foll.) says that 'it is only the Fully Enlightened One who possesses all the aspects of a good friend',[24] quoting the *K-m-s-sutta* passage. Such a special eminence of the Buddha is not, however, otherwise stressed (though perhaps it is so obvious as to go without saying). At A V 67 King Pasenadi falls at the Buddha's feet and extols his virtues, one of which is to demonstrate what are elsewhere called the 'ten instances of good talk' (*kathāvatthūni*). But any monk can exhibit these also (M III 113, etc.), and the Visuddhimagga tells us that one of the senses of 'proper resort' (*gocara*) for a monk is 'a good friend who exhibits the ten instances of good talk', where plainly any monk can be such (19). Of course, the Buddha himself, in his progress through many lives to reach *nibbāna*, needed the help of such good friends himself (Cp-a 285, 287 foll., 311).

(ii) other famous monks as exemplars.

In the Visuddhimagga passage just cited, it is said that when the Buddha is dead, one may receive a meditation subject from any of the eighty great disciples; when they are gone, one may turn to other arahants, but not (*pace* PED p. 199) to any arahant, only to one who has reached enlightenment by means of the meditation subject which he recommends. Then the list descends through the other kinds of noble person (*ariyapuggala*) to the 'ordinary man' (*puthujjana* — clearly an ordinary monk must be meant), and finally comes to a person who knows only one collection (*sangīti*) and its commentary, and who is 'conscientious' (*lajjī*). Such a teacher will pass on the tradition and heritage (*vaṃsa, paveṇi*) rather than his own opinion; the text adds, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, that an arahant will only describe the path he himself has traversed, whereas the learned man (*bahussuto*) will explain a meditation subject more generally, 'showing a broad track, like a big elephant

going through the jungle'.

Apart from this particular connexion with giving a meditation subject, famous monks are said to be the good friends of laymen (e.g. King Pasenadi at S I 83) and of monks (Channa at Dhp-a II 110–2, both cited above). A long passage found often in the later literature (e.g. Vibh-a 269 foll., Sv 777 foll., Ps I 281 foll., It-a III 78 foll.) names specific monks who may be taken as a good friend in the process of getting rid of each of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*). Each *nīvaraṇa* is abandoned by a differing list of factors, but *k-m-tā* appears in each list. For the first, lust (*kāmacchanda*), we read that 'lust is abandoned in one who cultivates good friends who delight in the development of [sc. the meditation on (S.C.)] the foul, like the Elder Tissa, the worker on the foul'.[25] The other *nīvaraṇā* are then counteracted by taking an exemplar, as follows:

ill-will (*vyāpāda*): 'good friends who delight in the development of amity (*mettā*) like the Elder Assagutta'
stiffness-and-torpor (*thīna-middha*): 'good friends who have abandoned stiffness-and-torpor, like the Elder Mahākassapa'
agitation-and-worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*): 'good friends who are expert in the Vinaya, like the Elder Upāli'
uncertainty (*vicikicchā*): 'good friends who are resolute in faith, like the Elder Vakkali'.

The texts containing these passages were clearly intended for use by monks generations after the lifetime of the good friends mentioned. No doubt they were meant to have a similar function to that of the many exemplary stories of great monks found in texts like the Thera- and Therīgāthā, the Apadāna, the opening of the Aṅguttara commentary, etc. (as indeed to that of inspirational and exemplary hagiographies the world over).

(iii) any monk or layperson who advises and encourages.

By far the commonest use of the karmadhāraya *k-m.* is to denote monks, and in some cases laymen, whose advice and/or example may encourage others. In the standard commentarial gloss on the (monastic) use of the term, such a

monk is an *ovādaka-bhikkhu*, perhaps 'monastic instructor'; this is not a status necessarily separate from that of preceptor (*upajjhāya*) or teacher (*ācariya*), although it can be. For instance, in the commentary to an elaborate simile comparing the world and its pleasures to a drinking bowl full of poison, and where someone advises a thirsty man both of the advantages and the disadvantages of drinking from it, such an advisor is called 'a *k-m.* like a teacher, preceptor, etc.' (*ācariy'upajjhāyādiko k-m.*) (Spk II 120 on S II 110). Vism 121 discusses a situation in which it is not possible to find 'a *k-m.* as a teacher or the equivalent, a preceptor or the equivalent' (*ācariya-, upajjhāyasamaṃ*). At Mil 380 a monk is to depend on any fellow monk as a *k-m.* (*k-mittaṃ sabrahmacāriṃ upanissāya vasitabbaṃ*), as long as he is (in Miss Horner's translation):

> of few wants, contented, a preacher of asceticism, one living in submissiveness, possessed of good habits, modest, well behaved, revered, to be respected, a speaker, one who can be spoken to, one who reproves (for an offence), censuring evil, an exhorter, instructor, adviser, one who gladdens, arouses, incites and delights (his fellow Brahma-farers).[26]

This can be taken as a definition of a *k-m.*, as also can the qualities extolled in the following: at A I 116–7, a successful monk is compared to a successful shop-keeper (*pāpaṇiko*). Both have three qualities, being intelligent (*cakkhumā*), capable (*vidhuro*[27]), and possessed of a means of support (*nissaya-sampanno*). In the case of a monk, this means that he understands as they really are (*yathābhūtaṃ*) the Four Noble Truths, that he is energetic in avoiding bad states and developing good ones, and that (whereas the shopkeeper's means of support is obviously financial) he frequents monks who are 'learned, versed in scripture, who know the Dhamma and the Discipline, and the lists'.[28] He questions them on points of doctrine, and they resolve his doubts. The commentary (Mp II 190) glosses the three qualities as wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*viriya*), and following good friends (*k-m-sevanā*), but adds that it would be wrong to understand

these qualities as being attained in that order. Rather, 'dependence on good friends' (*k-m-upanissaya*) comes first, energy next, and finally arahantship (*arahatta*). Naturally, just as the state of 'dependence' (*nissaya*) when construed as an institutionally-marked state of subordination within the Saṅgha,[29] is only an introductory or disciplinary status, so 'following good friends' is only appropriate for a beginner. At M I 477 foll. (cp. A IV 75 foll.) arahants, for whom there is 'nothing more to do through diligence' are contrasted with learners (*sekhā*) for whom there is, and who are said to 'follow good friends'. In a list then given of seven (types of) persons, 'following good friends' is said only of those for whom there is 'something more to be done through diligence', not for those — the 'released both ways (*ubhatobhāga-vimutto*) and the 'released by wisdom' (*paññā-vimutto*) — for whom there is not.

As far as monks are concerned, then, the position is clear. But the term *k-m.* is also applied to laypersons. Monks can be *k-m.* to laymen, who can also be *k-m.* to each other. At A V 336, the layman Nandiya, who has come to Sāvatthi both to do business and to see the Buddha, is told by him to bear in mind certain things, including the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The last are referred to as *k-m.*, and Nandiya is to reflect 'it is a gain for me, it is good fortune for me, that I have good friends who are compassionate and desire my welfare, who instruct and teach (me)'. The commentary remarks that 'here recollecting the (good qualities of the) Saṅgha (*saṅghānussati*) is taught, on account of (its containing) good friends' (*k-m-vasena*) (Mp V 81). The term is also used of laymen. In one version of the story of Prince Sumana, who was the younger brother of Padumuttara Buddha and who later became Ānanda, he is deliberating with the king's ministers as to what boon he shall ask of his father. Receiving the advice from some to be allowed to wait on the Buddha for three months, he accepts and tells them 'you are *k-m.* to me' (Sv 489). In a commentarial elaboration of the long simile comparing consciousness in the body to the leader of a town (S IV 194–5), we are told that this leader is a young prince sent to the town by his father, the king of the region,

but who on arriving quickly became a drunkard, thanks to mixing with bad friends (*pāpa-mitta-saṃsaggena*). The king sends two messengers, who reform him. The king is the Buddha, the young prince an inexperienced bhikkhu, and the two messengers are concentration and insight (Spk III 61–2).

(For other uses of *k-m.* as a karmadhāraya compare: Vin I 21–2 and Sp 968, Vin II 8, III 19 and Sp 215, Spk I 202, III 6, Pj I 126, 148, It-a I 43, 116, II 62, 63, 91, 129, 167, 172, 180 foll., Kv-a 30, Pp 41, Mil 373, 408, Peṭ 87, 210, 231, Pj II I 341 on Sn 338.)

(iv) the giver of a meditation subject (kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka).

Given the importance of meditation in the Buddhist Path, it is hardly surprising that a *k-m.* should offer guidance in this area. Indeed, we are told that having a good friend is one of the (necessary) bases of meditative attainment (*jhāna*) (Peṭ 149).[30] Vajirañāṇa[31] has pointed out how the Buddha is shown in the suttas giving advice on meditation to his monks, and we have seen that in the list of meditation-subject-givers in Vism 89, 98 foll., the Buddha comes first. Such a *k-m.* is called an *ācariya* (ibid. 99), who should be senior (100); and elsewhere it is said that the relationship between teacher and pupil should be like that of father and son (Vin I 60). It may be thought that such an hierarchical and indeed quasi-kin relation does away with any real notion of friendship, and indeed in the later literature where *k-m.* appears as a technical term for a *kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka* (e.g. As 168, Abhidh-av verses 800–3, quoting A IV 32), it may seem to have become a mere title. But one should remember here that the choice of a particular subject for meditation is made according to the particular character of the monk concerned, and the Vism goes on to give a long account of these various character-types or 'temperaments' (*cariyā*).[32] Naturally, it being a text, this is done rather schematically, according to a fixed set of 'elements' (*dhātu*) and 'humours' (*dosa*); and no doubt a clumsy or inconsiderate teacher might well apply the analyses mechanically. But one can easily imagine how a skilled teacher would need a sensitive insight into his pupil's

strengths and weaknesses, in order properly to guide him in this difficult area — an act of friendship indeed![33]

This late, very specific and indeed not very frequent use of the idea of the 'good friend' seems to me to have been rather over-emphasised in the secondary literature. It is worth noticing here just how specific it is in relation to the whole gamut of uses of the idea of a *k-m.* which I am presenting.

3. the bahuvrīhi 'one who has a good friend'.

I shall cite examples of this usage under two heads: the term *k-m.* used in this way by itself; and used in the common group of three terms, *k-m., kalyāṇa-sahāyo, kalyāṇa-sampavaṅko.*

(i) From the mere form *k-m.* of course one cannot decide between the karmadhāraya and bahuvrīhi interpretations, but the correct sense is almost always obvious from the context. At Th 505, for instance, we read simply that a *k-m.* bhikkhu will not grieve after death. Given verses 504 and 506, which read *kalyāṇa-sīlo*, 'of good morality', and *kalyāṇa-paññ̃o*, 'of good wisdom', respectively, it is clear that *k-m.* must likewise be taken as a bahuvrīhi, 'of (or with) good friends'. (It may be noticed that *-mitto* here occurs where we might expect, given the constant conjunction of *sīla, samādhi, paññā*, a reference to meditation, so perhaps there is an echo of the specific sense just discussed.) Similarly, at M I 43 the Buddha gives a long list of 'expungings' (*sallekha*), which include the thought 'others may be *pāpamittā*, we shall be *k-m.*'. The context shows that this cannot mean that monks are to wish to be good friends to others: it is a list of humble aspirations, to be uttered by those in training, and is immediately preceded by the aspiration 'others may be *dubbacā*, we shall be *subbacā*'. These words are to be taken in a passive sense, 'difficult' and 'easy to speak to' (see below on *do-* and *sovacassatā*), and so the monks are clearly to wish to have good friends and to be obedient and receptive to them. At S V 29 foll., each of another long list of qualities, endowed with which a monk will develop the Path, is compared to the dawn as the fore-runner (*pubbaṅgamaṃ, pubbanimittaṃ*) of the sun. One of these is *k-m-tā*, and the *k-m.* bhikkhu similarly presages the

(day)-light of wisdom; the other qualities are all compounds with *-sampanno*, and so *k-m.* here could be glossed as *kalyāṇamitta-sampanno*.[34]

An interesting passage in the Aṅguttara suggests that in a certain (and certainly non-technical) sense a monk can be both one who has good friends and a good friend to others. Each of a list of qualities — reverence for the Teacher, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha, and for the training, the virtue of being easy to speak to (*sovacassatā*) and *k-m-tā* — is both possessed by a monk and aroused in others by him. 'Here a monk has good friends, praises (such) good friendship, and encourages in (such) good friendship those other monks who do not have good friends; he speaks praise truly, justly and at the right time of (such) good friendship' (A III 423–4).

(For other uses of *k-m.* as a bahuvrīhi, see A III 145, V 123–5, 146, 148–9, 153, 159, 161.)

(ii) The group of terms *k-m., k-sahāyo, k-sampavaṅko* is found in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta* and frequently elsewhere. *K-m.* is used in a bahuvrīhi sense, as is *k-sahāyo*, 'one who has good companions',[35] but *k-sampavaṅko* presents some problems. The corresponding Sanskrit text[36] has *kalyāṇamitra(tā), kalyāṇasahāya(tā), kalyāṇasamparka. Samparka* is a noun from the verb *sam-pṛc*, to mix or mingle. The nominal form *kalyāṇasamparkaḥ* (which corresponds to Pali *-sampavaṅkatā*, as an abstract noun) is most obviously interpreted as a tatpuruṣa with the meaning 'mixing with good people' (= *kalyāṇair janaiḥ samparkaḥ*). The adjectival form appears in the Sanskrit text as a plural, *kalyāṇa-samparkāḥ*, agreeing with the first person plural verb *viharişyāmaḥ*, in the aspiration to be made by monks 'we shall live *k-m.* (etc.)'. Given that the nominal form is a tatpuruṣa, this is best taken as a bahuvrīhi based on the tatpuruṣa, with the literal meaning 'one of whom there is mixing with good people', or in reasonable English, 'one who mixes with good people'. In Pali, the etymology of *sampavaṅka* is unclear — as Alsdorf says, that given by PED is not credible. There are two common commentarial exegeses of the word, which are sometimes blended. Examples are: at Mp II 198 on A I 127, and Pp-a 219 on Pp 37, we read '*k-*

sampavaṅko ti kalyāṇesu sucipuggalesu sampavaṅko tanninna-tappoṇa-tappabbhāramānaso ti attho. 'The meaning of *k-s.* is "inclined to good, pure people, bent down towards them, sloping towards them, having a mind which leans towards them"'. At Sv 1046 on D III 267, we read *cittena c'eva kāyena ca kalyāṇamittesu sampavaṅko, onato ti k-s.* '*K-s.* means inclined, bending towards good friends in both mind and body.' All of these terms suggest the idea of bending, inclining, etc.[37] As an etymology for *sampavaṅka*, K. R. Norman suggests[38] *vaṅka* (Sanskrit *vakra*), with the prefixes *sam-pa*. Although *vaṅka/vakra* often has a bad sense, as in the English 'bent' or 'crooked', the basic meaning of this, bent or curved, is in line with the commentarial glosses. The compound is thus to be taken as a tatpuruṣa, in both adjectival and nominal/abstract forms, and I suggest 'inclined/inclination to good friends' as a translation, to preserve the metaphor. (So also would 'have a bent for' or 'a penchant for', but neither seems appropriate in tone here.)

Although the grammar of this is complex, the meaning is straightforward. The triplet *k-m., k-s., k-s.*, is but an extension of the bahuvrīhi use of *k-m.* To be *k-m., k-s., k-s.* is important for a young monk at the beginning of training (e.g. A III 422, which adds that he *k-mitte sevamāno*, A IV 351, 356 = Ud 36 — this is the story of Meghiya, for present purposes a useful and instructive one). Although as a famous verse of the Dhammapada (160 = 380) has it, 'one is one's own master' (*attā . . . attano nātho*), this can be seen as in some senses at least an end or ideal rather than a universal truth: a monk is to be 'under protection' (*sanātha*) rather than without protection (*anātha*) by being *k-m., k-s., k-s.* (A V 23–4); and being *k-m., k-s., k-s.* is one of the things that 'make for protection' (*nātha-karaṇa*) (D III 266–7).[39]

It is not only the individual monk who benefits from being *k-m., k-s., k-s.*, however. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, one of the conditions set by the Buddha for the welfare of the Saṅgha as a whole after his death is that the monks should not be *pāpa-mittā, pāpa-sahāyā, pāpasampavaṅkā* (D II 78); when a monk is *k-m., k-s., k-s.*, he is regarded by senior, middling and junior monks alike with affection (he is

anukampita by them, A V 26). And, finally, a monk's being such is one of the ten 'occasions of fraternal living' (*sārāṇīya-dhammā*[40]), which 'make for kindness and respect, which conduce to concord, lack of quarrelling, harmony and unity' (A V 89–91).

4. the abstract noun kalyāṇamittatā.

As I said earlier, the abstract noun *k-m-tā* is only used to mean 'the state of having good friends', that is, it is derived from the bahuvrīhi usage of *k-m*.[41] Not only is there for the learner 'no other factor so helpful as *k-m-tā*' (It 10),[42] but in general 'having good friends is the support (lit. "food") of (good) morals, sense-restraint the support of the holy life, and not quarrelling the support of friends' (A V 136).[43] This abstract form occurs, in fact, in many of the passages cited earlier. In one place, the virtue is recommended to laymen. In conversation with a Koḷiyan layman with the appealing name of Long-Knee Tigerfoot (Dīghajānu Byagghapajja), the Buddha describes four things which 'lead to welfare and happiness for the son of (good) family in this life', one of which is *k-m-tā*. 'What is "having good friends"?' he continues. 'It is this: wherever the son of good family lives, he consorts with and converses with householders and their sons, old and young alike matured in virtue, and imitates their success in (or "acquisition of") faith, virtue, charity and wisdom' (A IV 282, cp. 322).[44]

The nominal form of the word is not merely a variety of grammar, since it allows the topic to be dealt with in the style of the Abhidhamma, as a *dhamma*, an abstract unit of description and analysis. Many passages in the Sutta-piṭaka do this (particularly in the Aṅguttara, e.g. I 13–8, 83, III 309–10, 448–9, V 146–9), and there is here a constant connexion between *k-m-tā* and another *dhamma*, the virtue of *sovacassatā*, 'being easy to speak to', as there is also between the corresponding vices of *pāpamittatā* and *dovacassatā*. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi explains as follows, giving the vices first (which I shall follow, since I will cite the commentary, which comments only on the vices):

> What is 'being difficult to speak to'? It is when there is contumacy, surliness, disobedience, contrariness, antagonism, disregard, irreverence, disrespect and non-deference, when something has been spoken in accordance with the Teaching.
>
> What is 'having bad friends'? It is following after, attending on, associating with, being devoted to and inclined to people who are without faith, of bad morals, without learning, mean, and of no wisdom.
>
> What is 'being easy to speak to'? It is lack of contumacy, etc., when something has been spoken in accordance with the Teaching.
>
> What is 'having good friends'? It is following after, etc., people who have faith, are of good morals, learned, generous and wise.[45]

The commentary (As 393–4) elaborates *dovacassatā* specifically in relation to monastic discipline. What is 'spoken in accordance with the Teaching' is taken to be an accusation of an offence (*āpatti*) against the Vinaya precepts, and a demand for expiation (*paṭikarohi*). The offending monk is then said not only to refuse, but to answer back vituperatively and with malicious pleasure. The other terms given in elucidation of *dovacassatā* in Dhs 1325 are explained as a lack of deference to Elders and a refusal to accept their advice. 'Having bad friends', the commentary continues, is to be understood in the same way (*es' eva nayo*), since 'being difficult to speak to, having bad friends, etc., do not occur separately as aspects of mind (*cetasikadhammā*)'. The corresponding two virtues are then dealt with summarily: 'the couplet on being easy to speak to (*sovacassatā ca dukaniddeso pi*) is to be understood in the reverse manner'.

This close connexion between 'friendly' interpersonal relations, manner of mutual converse, and the institutionalised modes of a disciplinary hierarchy (a connexion already adumbrated in the Canon: see M I 95–6 and commentary, and cp. Th 588) led the prolific translator Ñāṇamoli to attempt various renderings of *sovacassatā*: 'readiness to be spoken to' at Vism 107, 'easy admonishability' at Nett 40; *dovacassatā* is 'unamenability to correction' at Peṭ 254. B. C. Law at Pp 20, 24, has forthrightly 'obedience' and

'disobedience' respectively.[46] Although in comparison with Christian monasticism, Buddhism is remarkably free from undue emphasis on obedience, and it is certainly never seen as a virtue in itself, it is striking how friendship as a monastic virtue in both traditions comes much closer to the areas of discipline and control than our modern everyday use of the term might suggest.[47]

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Notes

Abbreviations follow the Critical Pāli Dictionary (= CPD).

1 Feer used the Sanskrit Ārya-kalyāṇamitra-sevana-sūtra, translating the title given in the Tibetan Kanjur.

2 I have made use of existing lexicographical materials, indices, cross-references, and not a little serendipity. There may of course be uses which have escaped me.

3 See S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends. Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society*. (C.U.P. 1984), and the literature cited there. R. Brain, *Friends and Lovers* (Paladin, 1976) gives a brief and rather journalistic overview of relevant ethnography. R. E. Ewin, *Co-operation and Human Values* (Harvester, 1981), Chapter 9, Friendship, writing entirely from within a modern philosophical viewpoint, gives a sensitive and helpful account of how the necessary aspect of reciprocity — friendship as 'in some ways like an economic arrangement' (op. cit. p. 198) — is connected to the equally necessary moral virtues exercised in friendly relations.

4 Compare, for instance, Theognis, lines 31–128. Both popular and philosophical ideas are discussed in J-C. Fraisse, *Philia. La Notion d'Amitié dans la philosophie antique* (Paris, 1974). C. D. Small, *The Understanding of Friendship in the works of selected Church Fathers . . .* (Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1984) shows how the ideas of classical Greece continued to influence early Christian thinking on the subject.

5 PJ I 135, 17–8. *Passāmi 'haṃ Jambucittaṃ sandiṭṭhaṃ saphalaṃ mittaṃ / guṇo kato mayā tuyhaṃ guṇaṃ paṭikarosi me ti*. I translate *saphalaṃ* as 'who keeps a promise' on the model of Sanskrit *saphalaṃ kṛ*; it can mean simply 'advantageous' or 'profitable', and probably nuances of this sense are also present here.

6 See L. Sternbach, *Subhāṣita, gnomic and didactic literature* (in India) (Wiesbaden 1974), and compare the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti, stanzas 117–28, in Sternbach's edition (Adyar 1963).

7 See Dhammanīti 96–111, Lokanīti 79–93, Mahāranīti 113–63, in Bechert and Braun, *Pāli Nīti texts from Burma* (PTS 1981).

8 *Mitra-bheda, mitra-samprāpti*. The Hitopadeśa's first book is called *mitralābha*. The parallels between these works and the Pāli Jātakas have long been recognised.

9 *Yo ve kataññū katavedi dhīro/Kalyāṇamitto daḷhabhattī ca hoti / Dukhitassa sakkacca karoti kiccaṃ / tathāvidhaṃ sappurisaṃ vadanti.*

10 *Pūjako labhati pūjaṃ vandako paṭivandanaṃ / Yaso kittiñ ca pappoti yo mittānaṃ na dūbhati*. The commentary: *vandako ti Buddhādīnaṃ kalyāṇamittānaṃ vandako punabbhave paṭivandanaṃ labhati.*

11 This sentiment, which also occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, provides an interesting contrast with Christ's 'no greater love (*agapē*) has any man than that he should lay down his life for his friends (*tōn philōn*)' (John 15, 14). In Buddhism what is in one sense 'a greater love' is shown by monastic friends, whose practice of the Way is of far greater import than the ending of any given life-time (or as the Abhidhamma would say, 'any given life-faculty').

12 *Dve mittā; āgārika-mitto ca anāgārika-mitto ca. Katamo āgārika-mitto? Idh' ekacco duddadaṃ dadāti, duccajaṃ cajati, dukkaraṃ karoti, dukkhamaṃ khamati, guyham assa ācikkhati guyham assa pariguyhati, āpadāsu na vijahati jīvitaṃ c' assa atthāya pariccattaṃ hoti, khīṇe n' ātimaññati. Ayaṃ āgārika-mitto. Katamo anāgārika-mitto? Idha bhikkhu piyo ca hoti manāpo ca hoti garu ca bhāvanīyo ca (vattā ca) vacana-kkhamo ca gambhīrañ ca kathaṃ kattā, (na c') aṭṭhāne niyojeti, adhisīle samādapeti, catunnaṃ sati-paṭṭhānānaṃ bhāvan' ānuyoge samādapeti. Ayaṃ anāgārika-mitto.*

The text here omits *vattā ca* and *na c'*, both of which I insert on the model of A IV 32 (cf. Nett. 164), which is being followed here. The translation follows that of Ñāṇamoli, *The Guide* (PTS 1962) p. 216–7.

13 The history of this term is curious. It was coined by Lord Coverdale in 1535 to translate the Hebrew *chesed*, used of the love God has for man. The Septuagint translators and subsequent Greek texts often render this by *eleos*, which is standardly rendered in English as 'pity' or 'compassion', which of course is the usual rendering of the Buddhist virtue of *karuṇā*. I do not know who first used 'loving-kindness' for *mettā*.

14 *Pāpā Devadattādayo mittā assā ti pāpamitto. Pasenadissa Sāriputtattherā-dīnaṃ vasena kalyāṇamittāditā veditabbā.*

15 He would thus learn the lesson taught at S I 37, that although in this life a companion (*sahāya*) may show friendship repeatedly when one is in need, in the next life one's friend is one's own good deeds! (*sayaṃ katāni puññāni, taṃ mittaṃ samparāyikan ti*).

16 It could also, of course, be based on the tatpuruṣa sense, that is as *kalyāṇa(purisa)-mittatā* rather than *kalyāṇamitta-tā*, but this is ruled out because the tatpuruṣa sense of *k-m.* itself is not found.

17 *Yassa sīlādi-guṇa-sampanno . . . upakārako mitto hoti, so puggalo kalyāṇamitto. Tassa bhāvo kalyāṇamittatā.*

18 *Yassa pāpā lāmakā mittā, so pāpamitto. Pāpamittassa bhāvo pāpamittatā.* (I assume throughout that the usage of *p-m.* and *p-m-tā* is perfectly valid evidence for *k-m.* and *k-m-tā.*)

19 Cited at *Elders' Verses II* (PTS 1971). The text of Thī-a has not been available to me. The reading *kalyāṇamittavantatā* is also found in some mss. of Līnatthavaṇṇanā II 400, including the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā edition.

20 *Yāya cetanāya puggalo pāpa-sampavaṅko nāma hoti, sā cetanā pāpamittatā.*

21 *Lāmake dussīle mittapaṭirūpake amitte.*

22 *Dhamma* is used at A IV 32; at A IV 31 in the householder-friend passage, *aṅga* is preferred.

23 In the commentary to the k-m-s-sutta (Spk I 156–7), Ānanda is imagined to have thought that half of the holy life was *k-m-tā*, half was 'individual effort' (*paccatta-purisa-kāra*). It is then said that this is wrong, since the two contributions cannot be separated, just as one cannot separate the individual contributions of a number of people holding a stone pillar, or of parents raising a child. Elsewhere, *k-m-tā* is said to lie at the basis of the Path (see text pp. 63–4), and this is given at Ud-a 222 in explanation of its being 'the whole' of the holy life.

24 *Sammāsambuddho yeva sabbākārasampanno kalyāṇamitto.* I give Ñāṇamoli's translation (*Path of Purification*, Colombo, 1975, 3rd ed. p. 99), which depends on taking *yeva* in a strong sense as 'only', which may not be necessary. Pe Maung Tin's PTS translation (*The Path of Purity*, 1923–31, p. 114) has simply 'the Buddha supreme himself was a good friend endowed with all qualities'.

25 *Asubhakammika-Tissattherasadise asubhabhāvanārate kalyāṇamitte sevantassāpi kāmacchando pahīyati.* I give Ñaṇamoli's (forthcoming, PTS) translation of Vibh-a for this and for the other *nīvaraṇāni.*

26 . . . *appiccham santuṭṭham dhutavādam sallekhavuttiṃ ācārasampannaṃ. lajjiṃ pesalaṃ garuṃ bhāvanīyam vattāraṃ vacanakkhamaṃ codakaṃ pāpagarahiṃ ovādakaṃ anusāsakaṃ viññāpakaṃ sandassakaṃ samādapakaṃ samuttejakaṃ sampahaṃsakaṃ.* I have substituted 'one who can be spoken to' for *vacanakkhama*, following Ñāṇamoli (see reference in note 12).

27 This is a difficult word. I give Woodward's rendering (in *Gradual Sayings* vol I, PTS. 1972, pp. 100 foll.).

28 *Bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikadharā.*

29 I do not think we should necessarily take this as being implied by the use of (*upa*)*nissaya* in these kinds of passage.

30 The text reads *kalyāṇamittā jhānassa upanissā.* Ñāṇamoli (*Piṭaka-Disclosure*, PTS 1964 p. 202) suggests emending to *upanisā*, and translates this as 'stipulate'. Words like (*upa*)*nissaya* are common with *k-m.*, of course. (See CPD. s.v. *upanisā.*) Perhaps also we should emend to *k-m-tā* (and I have translated thus) since *kalyāṇa-sampavaṅkatā* is the next 'basis' for *jhāna* given. If *kalyāṇa-mittā* is retained, it should be taken as 'good friends' in the karmadhāraya sense.

31 *Buddhist Meditation* (2nd. ed. Kuala Lumpur, 1975) pp. 95–7. See also Ps II 192, where the Buddha instructs the first five monks, cited by M. B. Carrithers, *The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka* (O.U.P. Delhi, 1983) p. 230.

32 I have discussed this notion in *Selfless Persons* (C.U.P., 1982), Chapter 5.2.3.

33 For modern examples see Carrithers (op. cit. note 31) Chapters 11 and 13.

34 Thus the commentary (Spk III 133) explains 'established in the possession of good friends like the dawn, the Noble Path along with insight arises, like the appearance of the sun'.

35 The commentaries explain this term as those who 'go along' with the monk, or with whom he 'goes along', in the four postures (i.e. in everyday life): e.g. Sv 1046, *te* (sc. *kalyāṇamittā*) *v'assa ṭhāna-nisajjādisu saha ayanato sahāyā ti kalyāṇasahāyo.* Ud-a 221, *kalyāṇapuggaleh'eva sabb'iriyāpathesu saha ayati, pavattati, na vinā tehī ti kalyāṇasahāyo.*

36 E.g. Avadāna-śataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Mithila 1958), p. 95. The corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan texts are given by Alsdorf.

37 For the words *ninna* and *poṇa* see K. R. Norman, "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XV", in *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), 1979, vol. XXIX, Nos. 1–2, pp. 48–9; for *pabbhāra* see Edgerton, *BHSD* sv. *prāgbhāra.* (I am grateful to K. R. Norman for the information contained in this note.)

38 Private communication. He translates *kalyāṇasampavaṅka* as '(well)-disposed towards people who are *kalyāṇa*'.

39 On the other hand, monks who are *k-m., k-s., k-s.* become worthy of honour, etc., 'a field of merit for the world' (A V 199). Indeed, in one passage monks are said to be such if they display a variety of virtues, which include being *k-m., k-s., k-s.*, and also having the 'Three-fold Knowledge' (*tevijjā*), one of which, of course, is knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavā*, which is to say being enlightened (A IV 290–1). This is in marked contrast with the usual notion that being *k-m.*, etc. is a beginner's virtue. (The commentary, Mp IV 140, remarks nonchalantly that the meaning of the passage is clear, *uttāna*!)

40 This is Rhys Davids' rendering (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 3, PTS, 1921, p. 231). Miss Horner (*Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 3, PTS, 1959, p. 384 and note 3) and Woodward (*Gradual Sayings*, vol. 5, PTS, 1936, p. 64 and note 1) have simply 'to be remembered', deriving the word from *sar*, to remember.

41 *Kalyāṇasahāyatā* is also based on the bahuvrīhi *kalyāṇasahāya*: as argued in the text, *kalyāṇasampavaṅkatā* is a tatpuruṣa. Cp. As 394, commenting on *sampavaṅkatā* in Dhs 1326/8, translated on pp. 66–7 of this article, which has *tesu* (sc. *kalyāṇesu* or *pāpesu*) *puggalesu kāyena c' eva cittena ca sampavaṅkabhāvo.*

42 This concerns what is external, *bāhiraṃ.* For what is internal, *ajjhattaṃ*, it is 'careful attention', *yoniso manasikāra* (It 9, S V 101–2).

43 *Kalyāṇamittatā sīlānaṃ āhāro, indriyasaṃvaro brahmacariyassa āhāro, avisaṃvādanā mittānam āhāro.*

44 *Kulaputto yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati, tattha ye te honti gahapati vā gahapatiputtā vā daharā vā vuddhasīlino vuddhā vā vuddha-sīlino saddhāsampannā, sīlasampannā, cāgasampannā, paññāsampannā, tehi saddhiṃ santiṭṭhati sallapati sākacchaṃ samāpajjati; yathārūpānaṃ saddhāsampannānaṃ saddhāsampadaṃ anusikkhati, yathārūpānaṃ sīla-, . . . cāga-, . . . paññāsampannānaṃ paññāsampadaṃ anusikkhati.* My translation is slightly abridged. The whole Sutta is repeated at A IV 285–9 with Ujjayo the Brahmin.

45 1325. *Tattha katamā dovacassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne dovacassatāyaṃ dovacassiyaṃ dovacassatā vippaṭikūlagāhitā vipaccanīkasātatā anādariyaṃ anādaratā agāravatā appaṭissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati dovacassatā.
1326. *Tattha katamā pāpamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā assaddhā dussīlā appassutā macchārino duppaññā — yā tesaṃ sevanā nisevanā saṃsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavaṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati pāpamittatā.
1327. *Tattha katamā sovacassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne sovacassatāyaṃ sovacassiyaṃ sovacassatā appaṭikūlagāhitā avipaccanīkasātatā sagāravatā sappaṭissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati sovacassatā.
1328. *Tattha katamā kalyāṇamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā saddhā sīlavanto bahussutā cāgavanto paññāvanto — yā tesaṃ sevanā nisevanā saṃsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavaṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati kalyāṇamittatā.
See also Vbh 359, 369, 371, Pp 20, 24. The translation of these synonyms or near-synonyms is necessarily slightly arbitrary. In the passage on *pāpamittatā* I have given only 'following after' for *sevanā, nisevanā* and *saṃsevanā*, and 'being devoted to' for both *bhatti* and *sambhatti*.

46 Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 108, *The Guide*, p. 63, *Piṭaka-Disclosure*, p. 342. B. C. Law, *Human Types* (PTS, 1924) pp. 30, 35. See also *Middle Length Sayings*, vol. I pp. 125–6, and *Book of the Discipline* vol. I (PTS, 1938) p. 310.

47 In Christianity, compare, for example, the discussion of friendship by John Cassian (3rd–4th century), in his sixteenth Conference, in E. Pichery (ed. and transl.) *Jean Cassien: Conferences*, vol. II pp. 221–247 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, no. 54, Paris, 1958).

THREE SOULS, ONE OR NONE: THE VAGARIES OF A PĀLI PERICOPE.

Early in that mysterious text, the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Suttā*, is a recommendation how the ideal ruler should behave. From time to time, he is told, he is to ask advice of the best holy men available; they are characterized in three expressions (D III 61):[1] ***Ye ca te tāta vijite samaṇa-brāhmaṇā mada-ppamādā paṭiviratā khanti-soracce niviṭṭhā ekam attānaṃ damenti ekam attānaṃ samenti ekam attānaṃ parinibbāpenti, te kālena kālaṃ upasaṃkamitvā paripuccheyyāsi.*** The first two characterizations, 'abstaining from intoxication and carelessness and attached to patience and gentleness' are straightforward. It is the third, from the first *ekam* to *parinibbāpenti*, which seems surprising and is the subject of this article. Though the text is famous, I am not aware that any scholar has drawn attention to what I shall from now on refer to as 'our expression' before.[2] Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate: 'each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self', and offer no comment. They seem to be taking each *ekam* as a nominative, presumably positing that the final *m* is a junction consonant; they translate as if it were a nominative singular, but of course with a plural verb that is impossible.

One's first impression of the grammar — an impression which I shall show to be correct — is that *ekam* must be an accusative singular masculine qualifying *attānaṃ*. The translators evidently evaded this interpretation because it yields an odd meaning: Buddhists deny the existence of an *attan*, a self. The word can also be used as a reflexive pronoun, and one can imagine speaking of mastering and calming oneself, *attānaṃ*, but *parinibbāpenti*, a Buddhist technical term for putting out the fires of passion, hate and delusion, sits strangely with *attānaṃ*. Worse still, the sentence runs as if the repetition of *eka* could be distributive: 'they master one self, tame one self, bring one self to *nibbāna*.' That sounds as if people who are supposed to realize their lack of self are being credited with three.

REFERENCES TO PĀLI IN 17TH-CENTURY FRENCH BOOKS

1. 17th-century French books on Thailand

Mr K.R. Norman points out in **Pāli Literature**[1] that the term "Pāli" was used in France in the second half of the 17th century to designate the dialect of Middle Indo-Ariyan which is found in the texts of the Theravadin Buddhists. He cites Simon de La Loubère's **Du royaume de Siam** (1691), as this book was mentioned by Eugène Burnouf and Charles Lassen as being the first mention of the term Pāli.[2] Many books on Thailand were published in France during the second half of the 17th century, however, and, as we shall see, Pāli was mentioned by the French in several books before 1691. (The French generally write the word as they heard it pronounced, Bali or Baly [feminine: Balie, Balye]. The English translator of La Loubère's book uses the various forms indifferently.)

In searching for the earliest use in Europe of the word "Pāli" to designate a language, I was struck by the great variety of information that was available three hundred years ago in Europe concerning Thailand, Buddhism as a religion, and Buddhism as it was practised then in Thailand. The following list gives the publications pertinent to our discussion in chronological order with the abbreviations used below.

[Bourges] Jacques de Bourges. **Relation du voyage de monseigneur l'évéque de Beryte vicaire apostolique du royaume de la Cochinchine, Par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes, &c. jusqu'au Royaume de Siam & autres lieux.** (Paris: Denys Bechet, 1666; 1668, 1683; Italian ed.: 1677).

[Relation (1674)] **Relation des missions des évesques françois aux royaumes de Siam, de la Cochincine, de Camboye, & du Tonkin, &. Divisé en quatre parties.** (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, Edme Couterot, Charles Angot, 1674).

[Relation (1680)] **Relation des Missions et des voyages des évesques vicaires apostoliques, et de leurs ecclesiastiques, és Années 1672, 1673, 1674. & 1675.** (Paris: Charles Angot, 1680).

[Tachard (1686)] Guy Tachard. **Voyage de Siam, des pères jésuites, envoyez par le roy aux Indes .& à la Chine ...** (Paris: Seneuze, Horthemels, 1686; Amsterdam, 1687; Dutch ed.: 1687; English ed.: 1688).

[Choisy] L'abbé de Choisy. **Journal du voyage de Siam, fait en 1685 & 1686.** (Paris, 1686; 1687, 1690; Amsterdam, 1687; English ed.: 1687; modern ed.: Maurice Garçon, ed., Paris: Duchartre & Van Buggenhoudt, 1930; references are to the modern edition).

[Chaumont] Alexandre de Chaumont. **Relation de**

l'ambassade de Mr le Chevalier de Chaumont à la cour du roi de Siam. Avec ce qui c'est passé de plus remarquable durant son voiage. (Paris: Arnoul Seneuze & Daniel Horthemels, 1686; 1687; English ed. 1687).

[Gervaise] Nicolas Gervaise. **Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam. ...** (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1688; 1689; Eng. ed. by Herbert Stanley O'Neill [Bangkok: Siam Observer Press, 1928]).

[Tachard (1689)] Guy Tachard. **Second voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le roy au Royaume de Siam.** (Paris: Daniel Horthemels, 1689).

[La Loubère] Simon de La Loubère. **Du royaume de Siam par Monsieur de La Loubere envoyé extraordinaire du Roy auprés du Roy de Siam en 1687. & 1688.** (Paris: La veuve de Jean Baptiste Coignard, Jean Baptiste Coignard [fils], 1691; Eng. trans. ("done out of French"), 1693 [repr. with an intro. by David K. Wyatt, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969]; Amsterdam, 1714). References with volume and page number are to the first French ed. References with page numbers only are to the English edition. I generally follow the 17th-century English translation, although spellings, use of capitals, and some words have been modernized.

2. French-Thai relations in the second half of the 17th century.

The second half of the 17th century was a period when there was a lot of interaction between France and Thailand. The recently founded Missions étrangères in France sent many missionaries to the East in hopes of spreading Christianity. Thailand proved to be an important country to them because of religious tolerence. Jacques de Bourges wrote, "I do not believe there is any country in the world where so many religions are to be found and where their practice is better tolerated." [Bourges, p. 164.] The French established a seminary to train natives of various countries, including Tonkin, Thailand, China, Cochin-China, Manilla, Bengal and Pegu.[3]

The French government had hopes of replacing the English and Dutch in Thailand in order to further commercial trade. The situation seemed very promising for a time. The king of Thailand had raised a man of Greek origin, Constant Phaulkon, to a high position in the court. Phaulkon converted to Catholicism and the missionaries in Thailand had high hopes that the king would be converted as well--mistaking his tolerence and curiosity, perhaps, for an inclination towards Christianity.

Ambassadors were sent from Thailand to France in 1684 and 1686. Louis XIV responded with two embassies to Thailand, sending M. de Vaudricourt, M. de Chaumont and the Abbé de

Choisy in 1684 and M. de La Loubère and M. Ceberet in 1687. The curiosity aroused in France by the Thai ambassadors meant that there was a demand for books on Thailand, and this demand was certainly met by the books listed above--and other books as well, not mentioned here, as they do not contain any mention of Pāli.

The French were not able to install their merchants in Thailand, however. The mandarins in the court of Thailand had long been jealous of Phaulkon's power. La Loubère had brought French troops which Phaulkon stationed in Bangkok. As soon as the French ambassador had left for France, the king was deposed by a pretender to the throne named Phetraja, Phaulkon was executed and the French troops in Bangkok were forced to go to Pondicherry. The French missionaries were put into prison. All hopes of the French, both religious and commercial, were ended with regards to Thailand.[4]

3. The earliest mention of Pāli to designate a language.

A letter written by M. Chevreuil, after three years spent as a missionary in Cambodia (1665-1668), gives a good idea of the difficulties the missionaries faced and the approach they hoped would help them in their mission. He says that he has not made one convert to Christianity, "because, search as I may, I have not been able to find an interpreter who knows the religious terms well enough to enable me to explain our [religion] in an intelligible manner." [**Relation** (1674), p. 146.] He hopes he will be able to visit the important temple of Angkor ("Onco"), which is eight days' journey from the village he is in, where there are learned monks from Thailand, Pegu, Laos and Tenasserim, etc. He says that the language of the monks (Talapoins) "is as different from the local tongue as Latin is from the other European languages." [**Relation** (1674), pp. 144f.] He feels that the best way to turn them away from their idolotry is to show them the mistakes they have made in astrology (i.e., astronomy) and anatomy. [**Relation** (1674), pp. 145f.][5]

Another letter in the same book mentions a missionary who was able to learn Thai and the religious terms. M. l'évêque de Berythe (Pierre Marie Lambert) writes in 1667 that M. Laneau can read, write and speak Thai. "He has had the advantage of being able to make himself understood in religious matters, having learned the terms during the period when he lived with the priests of the idols [i.e., the monks]." [**Relation** (1674), p. 9.]

M. Laneau was one of three missionaries left in Thailand by M. l'évêque de Berythe, and it is in connection with him that the earliest mention of Pāli that I have been able to find was made. In recounting the events of the year 1672, it is mentioned that M. Laneau went to a village which was

seventy miles from the royal city (Ayuthia) between August 2 and September 11, 1671. "[M. Laneau] hastened to finish his study of the languages of Siam and Baly, the latter being absolutely necessary in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the religion of the country. And that is why he wrote a Grammar and a Dictionary of both languages. He translated into Siamese the Christian prayers and doctrine, and wrote in the same language a short work divided into four parts--the first dealing with the existence of God, the second with the mysteries, the trinity and the incarnation, the third with the marks of the true religion, and the fourth with the manner of refuting the errors of the religion of the country." [**Relation** (1680), p. 58.]

The grammars and dictionaries do not seem to have survived. But a translation into Thai of the gospel of Luke with a preface and postface in Pāli is to be found in the archives of the Missions étrangères, Paris.[6] This translation was finished in 1685. Numerous other references to missionaries learning Asian languages are found,[7] but only M. Laneau seems to have studied Pāli. This is one of the reasons given for electing him to the post of Evêque de Metellopolis in September 1673.[8] "Indeed, with regards to the kingdom of Siam, where it was appropriate that the new bishop should be normally in residence, we thought he had the advantage over the other missionary [considered] in several respects, knowing the languages that are used there," as well as being highly regarded by the king and the people. [**Relation** (1680), p. 109.]

4. Buddhism in Thailand as seen by the French

I think that it is probable that much of the information in the later French books concerning Buddhism, especially with regards to texts, can be traced to M. Laneau. Although some of the information given by the various authors is similar, there is great variety in the observations made and the stories quoted or practices described. At times, one author will copy information from an earlier work, but only La Loubère uses a wide variety of sources.[9] And, unlike the others, La Loubère generally cites his sources. He does not say who translated the Buddhist texts he gives, however. In a note to the reader at the beginning of the second volume, La Loubère says, "I had almost no hand in this volume aside from assembling the parts. Some of these are translations which I have made; for some others, about all I did was write with my pen when the substance was dictated to me."

An examination of the discussion of Buddhism in these works is of interest not only for the information and misinformation available in Europe at the time, but also for the picture given of Buddhism as practised in Thailand in the 17th

century and of the response in Thailand to the Christian missionaries.

For example, one of the reasons the missionaries had great difficulty in converting the Thai was that the Thai identified Jesus with Devadatta. When they learned that Jesus performed miracles and that he was crucified, they assumed he had done an evil action to merit this punishment which resembled the description of the torture inflicted on Devadatta after his death.[10]

A detailed examination of all the French texts would be beyond the scope of this paper, however. It is difficult to determine how much of what is reported is accurate. A Bdudhist text in Thailand may have differed from the canonical version, a poor translation may have been made, or the French version may be an interpretation more than a translation.

Certainly La Loubère was aware of how difficult it was to obtain information. He says, concerning his discussion of his attempts to obtain a copy of civil laws which were in three volumes, "It would have been necessary to remain for a longer time in Thailand with fewer affairs. Here, then, is what I have been able to learn as being certain in this matter, without the aid of these books, and in a country where everyone is afraid to speak. The greatest proof of the bondage of the Thai people is that they do not dare open their mouth about anything concerning their country." [La Loubère, I, p. 314; p. 81.]

Tachard calls into question not only the accuracy of what other Frenchmen have written or will write, but also warns that books on Thailand can have undesirable consequences for the mission there. In a letter dated July 26, 1688, he writes to the king's confessor, Père de La Chaise,[11] "I must suggest a case to your reverence, concerning which you may judge it necessary to make some early arrangements and speak to his majesty [Louis XIV]. M. de La Loubère has collected reports from all over on everything that came into his imagination, in order to present them to the public. He has only consulted people who are very badly informed and with very bad intentions. I have cause to fear that this account, improvised on the basis of such bad reports, will have very unfortunate consequences in Thailand, where they were very unhappy with Chevalier de Chaumont's report--so much so that the king of Thailand, having read it, translated into his language by the [Thai] ambassadors, blamed them very severely for not having beseeched his majesty [Louis XIV] to stop the sale of it. Your reverence can judge whether the same precaution should not be used with regards to the letters that the missionaries write to Rome."

Tachard goes on to accuse the Abbé de Lionne of having a personal vendetta against him, influencing the Evêque de Metellopolis and La Loubère, writing to Rome to denounce him. He says that the Abbé de Choisy, the Abbé de Lionne and M. Vachet took all his papers out of his chest on the boat and sent copies of them to Rome.

There is ample evidence that Tachard was every bit as meddlesome as he accuses the others of being, and that his actions did nothing to facilitate French-Thai relations.[12]

5. References to Pāli.

The first references to Pāli are rather perfunctory. Tachard [(1686), p. 378] calls attention to the importance of understanding Pāli in order to understand Buddhism: "The Thai religion is very strange. It cannot be perfectly understood except through the books written in the Bali language, which is a scholarly language and which almost no one understands aside from some of their doctors. Moreover, these books do not always agree with each other."

Chaumont [p. 141], like many of the writers, suggests the monks have ulterior motives: "When they preach, they urge the giving of alms to the monks, and they think themselves very learned when they cite some of the passages in their old books in the Baly language, which is like our Latin. This language is very lovely and emphatic. It has conjugations as in Latin."

Choisy [p. 246] gives a slightly different version of the same passage found in Chaumont: "When they preach, they urge the practice of virtue and the giving of alms to the monks. They seem very learned in their sermons when they cite some passage from their old books, which are in the Bali language. This Bali is like our Latin." As can be seen, Choisy's version is more complementary, and the slight variants between the two versions could well be due to both men having heard the same explanation but having interpreted what they heard differently.

Gervaise includes more details concerning Pāli than the earlier writers. In speaking of a foot-imprint in a rock [p. 181], he says, "They call it 'Pra-Bata' [Pada] in the Baly language, that is to say, 'the divine foot.'" In another passage we learn that the king of Thailand, concerned because the study of Pāli was dying out, decreed that monks who could not recite the texts would be forced to work [p. 198]: "After the meal, the most learned spend the rest of the day learning the Baly language, which is highly esteemed in this kingdom and absolutely necessary for the monks. They must as least know how to read and explain a little to be ordained Badloüan.[13] This training had been neglected for several years and most of the monks did not even know the letters. The king cured this

confusion four years ago."

Gervaise then goes on to describe the instruction given in the afternoon to the novices by a learned monk [p. 199]: "He teaches them to read and write in Thai, the history and customs of the country, with the Baly letters and grammar. This language, very different from Thai, has something of those of Europe. It is the only one of the oriental languages which has declinsions, conjugations and tenses." He also remarks that pieces of paper with "several Baly letters" marked on them are used to cure illnesses.

In his second book, Tachard speaks of two sorts of Thai language: the language of the people, which the Portugese call **Lingua de Fora** and the language used by the Mandarins, the palace and for the monks, **Lingua de Dentro.** He goes on to explain the third language of the country, Pāli [p. 214]: "They begin their prayers thus: **Sâ tou sâ** [Sadhu],[14] an expression in Bali, which is a third type of language peculiar to the learned and which is learned in Siam as Latin is in Europe. It will not be irrelevant to remark that almost all their prayers are in the Bali language, known only to the most capable monks, because, they say, a language which must set forth so many mysteries should be mysterious itself, and not be used except by a few people in the elite in order not to be degraded."

The most detailed description of Pāli is given by La Loubère. In his second volume he gives Thai characters for writing Thai and Pāli.[15] He discusses at length the order of the consonants and the pronunciation of the consonants and vowels and their various combinations.

La Loubère also speculates about the origins of Pāli. [La Loubère, I, p. 536; p. 139.] He says he consulted M. Herbelot concerning any common features between Pāli and Arabic, Turkish and Persian. He was told that ancient Persian was called "Pahalevì or Pahalì [Pahlavi]" and that the Persians would not make any difference between Pahalì and Bahalì.[16]

Also of interest is La Loubère's attempt to explain what he considers to be superstitious veneration of the monks. His theory is based on an explanation of how the instruction was originally given and how the texts came to be corrupted. [La Loubère, I, pp. 517f.; pp. 134f.] He seems to suggest that the teachings came to Thailand from India via China. Originally the texts were in poetry set to music. As men grew weary of singing the same thing and as they lost the meaning of the songs, they stopped singing them and looked for commentaries on the verses. The magistrates let other men make the commentaries and these men imposed their beliefs on the people, adding texts which were to their own advantage. But the point of particular interest for our discussion here is the mention of music. "The monks are therefore obliged to supply the ancient music," La Loubère continues, "and to explain

their Bali books to the people in an audible voice." [La Loubère, I, p. 522; p. 135.]

In recounting the daily occupations of the monks, La Loubère describes their chanting.[17] [La Loubère, I, pp. 448f.; p. 117.] They go to the temple the first thing in the morning. "There they sing or recite out of the Bali, and what they sing is written on the leaves of a tree somewhat longish and fastened at one of the ends.[18] . . . The people do not have a prayer book. The posture of the monks while they sing is to sit cross-legged and to continually fan themselves, so that their fan goes or comes at each syllable which they pronounce. And they pronounce them all with equal measure (à temps égaux) on the same tone (sur le même ton)." In the evening, they sing in the temple for another two hours. La Loubère also remarks that they have rosaries with one-hundred-eight beads, on which they recite certain Pāli words, but he does not know their significance. [La Loubère, I, p. 443; p. 116.]

La Loubère says that in addition to instructing the young, the monks "explain their Doctrine to the people as it is written in their Bali books. They preach the day after every new- and every full-moon, and the people are very constant in the temples." During the rainy season "they preach every day, from six in the morning till dinner time, and from one in the afternoon till five in the evening. The preacher is seated cross-legged in a high chair and several monks relay one another in this office." [La Loubère, I, p. 440; p. 115.]

Further details concerning the discourses given by the monks are found in a comment made on one of the rules for the monks. The rule La Loubère gives is not found in the Pāṭimokkha, and, like many of the other rules, seems to be based on a misunderstanding by the translator. It says, "A monk who in preaching does not speak Bali, sins." [La Loubère, II, p. 42; p. 159.] "This maxim is not well rendered by the translator," La Loubère comments. "Their way of preaching is to read out of the Bali, where they ought to change nothing, but they must comment on it in Thai, and say nothing which is not in the Bali."

La Loubère gives a slightly different account of the Pāli exams than Gervaise. According to La Loubère [I, p. 439; p. 115], the purpose of the exams is to keep too many men from escaping the six-months' service due to the king by becoming monks. "To diminish the number of these priviliged persons [the monks], he causes them to be examined from time to time concerning their knowledge with respect to the Bali language and its books. When we arrived in this coutnry, he had just reduced several thousand to the secular condition, because they had not been found learned enough." The exams were given by a young layman, Oc-Loüang Souraçac, the son

of the keeper of the elephants. But the forest monks (as distinguished from the monks in the city) refused to submit to examination under a layman and insisted on being tested by one of their superiors.

In conclusion, we can say that for Europeans the initial motivation behind learning Pāli was to gain a sufficient knowledge of religious terminology in order to translate the missionaries' message. The first usage of the knowledge of Pāli was to translate Buddhist texts in order to attempt to refute their teachings. With La Loubère there is already an attempt to study the languages and religions in China, India and Southeast Asia in a more objective manner. But even he includes a chapter to advise on how to gradually introduce the Christian religion without shocking those of other beliefs.

William Pruitt

NOTES

[1] Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 1f.

[2] **Essai sur le pali** (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1826), p. 6.

[3] See letter dated 1682, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 9380, f. 34^{v}, and **Relation** (1674), pp. 3f.

[4] For a brief outline of French-Thai relations, see Maurice Garçon's introduction [Choisy, pp. xix-xxii, xxix-xl]. For more detailed discussion see Lucien Lanier, **Etude historique sur les relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703** (Versailles: E. Aubert, 1883) and E.W. Hutchinson, **Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century** (London: R.A.S., 1940).

[5] A very similar observation was made by Robert Knox concerning Sri Lanka in a book published in 1681: "Their Books are only of their Religion and of Physick. Their chief Arts are Astronomy and Magick. They have a language something differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us) which their books are writ in." (R. Knox, **An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon . . .** 1681, p. 109; see mod. ed. by James Ryan [Glasgow: J. MacLehose & Sons, 1911], p. 175, which is reproduced in **The Ceylon Historical Journal**, VI [1956-57].) This reference was noted by A.J. Edmunds, "A Buddhist Bibliography," JPTS, 1902-3, p. 34.

[6] AME 1074, 2 vols., 354 pp., 177pp.

[7] For example, M. Langlois who taught in the Thai seminary mentions in 1672 that he already knew Italian which facilitated learning Portugese on his trip to the East. He arrived in Thailand in July 1671, studied Thai until December 1671, "enough to read and write it and even to understand and speak it." He made every effort to learn the languages of Tonkin and Cochin-China. [**Relation** (1680), p. 66.]

43 *Kalyāṇamittatā sīlānaṃ āhāro, indriyasaṃvaro brahmacariyassa āhāro, avisaṃvādanā mittānam āhāro.*

44 *Kulaputto yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati, tattha ye te honti gahapati vā gahapatiputtā vā daharā vā vuddhasīlino vuddhā vā vuddhasīlino saddhāsampannā, sīlasampannā, cāgasampannā, paññāsampannā, tehi saddhiṃ santiṭṭhati sallapati sākacchaṃ samāpajjati; yathārūpānaṃ saddhāsampannānaṃ saddhāsampadaṃ anusikkhati, yathārūpānaṃ sīla-, . . . cāga-, . . . paññāsampannānaṃ paññāsampadaṃ anusikkhati.* My translation is slightly abridged. The whole Sutta is repeated at A IV 285–9 with Ujjayo the Brahmin.

45 1325. *Tattha katamā dovacassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne dovacassatāyaṃ dovacassiyaṃ dovacassatā vippaṭikūlagāhitā vipaccanīkasātatā anādariyaṃ anādaratā agāravatā appatissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati dovacassatā.
1326. *Tattha katamā pāpamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā assaddhā dussīlā appassutā macchārino duppaññā — yā tesaṃ sevanā nisevanā saṃsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavaṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati pāpamittatā.
1327. *Tattha katamā sovacassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne sovacassatāyaṃ sovacassiyaṃ sovacassatā appaṭikūlagāhitā avipaccanīkasātatā sagāravatā sappaṭissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati sovacassatā.
1328. *Tattha katamā kalyāṇamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā saddhā sīlavanto bahussutā cāgavanto paññāvanto — yā tesaṃ sevanā nisevanā saṃsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavaṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati kalyāṇamittatā.
See also Vbh 359, 369, 371, Pp 20, 24. The translation of these synonyms or near-synonyms is necessarily slightly arbitrary. In the passage on *pāpamittatā* I have given only 'following after' for *sevanā, nisevanā* and *saṃsevanā*, and 'being devoted to' for both *bhatti* and *sambhatti*.

46 Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 108, *The Guide*, p. 63, *Piṭaka-Disclosure*, p. 342. B. C. Law, *Human Types* (PTS, 1924) pp. 30, 35. See also *Middle Length Sayings*, vol. I pp. 125–6, and *Book of the Discipline* vol. I (PTS, 1938) p. 310.

47 In Christianity, compare, for example, the discussion of friendship by John Cassian (3rd–4th century), in his sixteenth Conference, in E. Pichery (ed. and transl.) *Jean Cassien: Conferences*, vol. II pp. 221–247 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, no. 54, Paris, 1958).

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THREE SOULS, ONE OR NONE: THE VAGARIES OF A PĀLI PERICOPE.

Early in that mysterious text, the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Suttā*, is a recommendation how the ideal ruler should behave. From time to time, he is told, he is to ask advice of the best holy men available; they are characterized in three expressions (D III 61):[1] *Ye ca te tāta vijite samaṇa-brāhmaṇā mada-ppamādā paṭiviratā khanti-soracce niviṭṭhā ekam attānaṃ damenti ekam attānaṃ samenti ekam attānaṃ parinibbāpenti, te kālena kālaṃ upasaṃkamitvā paripuccheyyāsi.* The first two characterizations, 'abstaining from intoxication and carelessness and attached to patience and gentleness' are straightforward. It is the third, from the first *ekam* to *parinibbāpenti*, which seems surprising and is the subject of this article. Though the text is famous, I am not aware that any scholar has drawn attention to what I shall from now on refer to as 'our expression' before.[2] Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate: 'each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self', and offer no comment. They seem to be taking each *ekam* as a nominative, presumably positing that the final *m* is a junction consonant; they translate as if it were a nominative singular, but of course with a plural verb that is impossible.

One's first impression of the grammar — an impression which I shall show to be correct — is that *ekam* must be an accusative singular masculine qualifying *attānaṃ*. The translators evidently evaded this interpretation because it yields an odd meaning: Buddhists deny the existence of an *attan*, a self. The word can also be used as a reflexive pronoun, and one can imagine speaking of mastering and calming oneself, *attānaṃ*, but *parinibbāpenti*, a Buddhist technical term for putting out the fires of passion, hate and delusion, sits strangely with *attānaṃ*. Worse still, the sentence runs as if the repetition of *eka* could be distributive: 'they master one self, tame one self, bring one self to *nibbāna*.' That sounds as if people who are supposed to realize their lack of self are being credited with three.

Though the construction is not in fact distributive, it seems to have struck Buddhaghosa the same way, to judge by his comment on the passage (*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* III 851): *attano rāgādīnaṃ damanādīhi **ekam attānaṃ damenti samenti parinibbāpentī** ti vuccanti*: 'By mastering etc. their own [the self's] passion etc. they are said to . . .' As I understand this gloss, Buddhaghosa is suggesting that 'self' is mentioned thrice to correspond to the three roots of evil: passion, hate and delusion. But that is not quite how he is interpreted by the sub-commentary, which evidently finds the passage troublesome (*Dīghanikāyatthakathā-ṭīkā* III 36): ***Rāgādīnan** ti rāgadosamohamānādīnaṃ. **Damanādīhī** ti damana-samana-nibbāpanehi. **Ekam attānan** ti ekaṃ cittaṃ, ekaccaṃ attano cittan ti attho. Rāgādīnaṃ hi pubbabhāgiyaṃ damanādi paccekaṃ icchitabbaṃ, na maggakkhaṇe viya ekajjhaṃ paṭisaṅkhānamukhena pajahanato. **Ekam attānan** ti vā vivekavasena ekaṃ ekākinaṃ attānaṃ*. 'Passion etc. means passion, hate, delusion, pride etc. Taming etc. means mastering, calming, bringing to *nibbāna*. *Ekam attānaṃ* means one thought, one particular thought of oneself. For it is desirable that passsion etc. should each be mastered etc. in sequence, not by abandoning them all at once through ratiocination as happens at the moment of [entering on] the path. Or else *ekam attānaṃ* means the self when it is sole, that is alone, by virtue of [being in] solitude.'

The PTS *Pali-English Dictionary s.v. parinibbāpeti* leads to A II 68 and A III 46. Our expression occurs in a paragraph which is identical at these two places (though the dictionary entry implies otherwise). The wider context is different from that in the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta*, but the threefold characterization of ideal brahmins and ascetics is the same. At II 68 F. L. Woodward translates our expression: 'who tame the one self, calm the one self, cool the one self', and adds a footnote to which I return below. At III 46 E. M. Hare translates: 'each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self.' The commentary on this latter reference (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* III 254) just refers one back to that on the former, which reads (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* III 100): ***ekam attānaṃ damentī** ti ekam attano va attabhāvam indriyadamena*

*damenti. **samentī** ti attano cittaṃ kilesavūpasamanena samenti. **parinibbāpentī** ti kilesaparinibbānen' eva parinibbāpenti. **'Ekam attānaṃ damenti** means: they master one, that is their own, life by mastering the senses. *Samenti* means: they calm their own mind by laying to rest the defilements. *Parinibbāpenti* means: they bring to *nibbāna* by the complete blowing out of the defilements.' As I understand this, Woodward's translation is in accord with the commentary, though his choice of the word 'self' is not very happy,

The *Tipiṭaka Concordance*, having luckily reached the letter *p*, leads to two further occurrences of our expression: A I 168 and A IV 45. Both turn out to be interesting texts. I take the latter first. In this *sutta*, which I intend to translate in full and comment on elsewhere, the Buddha provides allegorical equivalents for the three fires of the brahminical *śrauta* ritual. Ascetics and brahmins characterized by our set of three expressions are said to be the *dakkhiṇeyyaggi*, 'the fire worthy of offerings', which by a pun is equated with the brahminical southern fire (Sanskrit: *dakṣiṇāgni*). E. M. Hare is again the PTS translator of this passage; in a footnote he mentions the three parallel passages which we have already dealt with, and he repeats his translation of A III 46, with the insignificant change of 'taming' for 'mastering'. His footnote also refers to the commentary (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* IV 30), which is brief: ***attānan** ti cittaṃ, **damentī** ti indriyadamena damenti, rāgādisamanena **samenti**, tesaññeva parinibbāpanena **parinibbāpenti**.* This adds nothing new; *attan* is explained as 'mind', but *eka* is passed over in silence.

We turn to A I 168, a *sutta* in the *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*. A brahmin called Saṅgārava says: 'Gotama, we brahmins officiate at and institute sacrifices. Whoever does either of those things acquires merit/purification consequent on the sacrifice which affects more than one body. But Gotama, a person who comes from anyone's family and goes from home to homelessness masters himself alone, calms, himself alone, brings peace to himself alone; so he acquires merit/purification consequent on his leaving home (*pabbajjā*) which affects just one body.' To this the Buddha replies that by preaching the truth which he has discovered he puts hundreds of thousands

of beings on the same path. He asks the brahmin whether the merit he has obtained thus affects one body or many. The brahmin has to agree that it affects many.

The brahmin is represented as saying that sacrifice is more efficacious than what Buddhist renouncers do because the results take effect for more than one life. It is the standard brahminical view that correct ritual performance benefits one in both this life and the next; this view seems to be even older than the doctrine of *saṃsāra*, which of course multiplied the number of lives one has. The Buddha shows that his preaching too benefits more than one life; in fact it benefits hundreds of thousands, but these lives are contemporaneous, not sequential.

(There are further points of similarity and contrast which are not directly relevant to this article. The brahmin implies that sacrifice is for brahmins only, whereas just anyone can leave the world — a state of affairs which of course the Buddha would admit but approve of. In the brahmin's speech the etymological meaning of *puñña*, 'purificatory', would be uppermost, whereas the Buddhists adapted the word so that the usual English translation, 'meritorious', is more appropriate, and fits the Buddha's reply in this text.)

In this context, our expression is intended pejoratively; it is the brahmin's criticism. Disagreeing with the criticism, the Buddha does not use the expression. Its meaning here is crystal clear. The commentary (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* II 266–7) says: ***ekam attānaṃ damentī ti attano indriyadamanavasena ekam attānam eva damenti;*** *'ekam attānaṃ damenti* means: by virtue of mastering his own senses it is himself alone that he masters;' and it gives precisely parallel glosses on the other two phrases.

F. L. Woodward, the PTS translator of this text, also gets the point, though I have preferred my own translation. He writes: 'tames only the single self, calms only the single self, leads to Nibbāna only the single self.' He adds a note adducing the parallel passages, but we have seen that their PTS translations, even Woodward's own at A II 68, are different.

Our expression makes perfect sense in the mouth of a

brahminical critic of Buddhism but makes no sense in Buddhist terminology and is inapplicable to Buddhists. This was already evident to Woodward. In a footnote to his translation of A II 68 (*The Book of the Gradual Sayings* II 76) he points out that our expression occurs at A I 168, 'where it fits the context far better than it does here.'

The reader may feel that by leaving the correct interpretation till last I have made a mountain out of a molehill. But my purpose has been to show that not only modern scholars (E. M. Hare evidently did not read his predecessor's footnotes) but also ancient ones have gone badly astray. The commentaries on the passages in which our expression occurs have merely taken over from the comment on A I 168 the (banal and uncontroversial) glosses on the verbs. Those which gloss *attānaṃ*, the self, as *cittaṃ*, the mind, have lost sight of the original point. None of them has known what to do with the difficulties created by the transfer of our expression from a pejorative to a eulogistic context, so that they have virtually ignored *ekam*. The *Dīgha* sub-commentary has seen the difficulty and tried to solve it, but with little success.

For the problem lies deeper: our expression simply cannot be made to fit a eulogistic context. It has long been known that the texts of the Pali Canon have been built up out of what biblical scholarship has dubbed pericopes, passages of scripture which were standardized and used as units to compose longer texts. This is another piece of evidence in that direction, small but I think not insignificant. The pericope which I have been calling 'our expression' was clumsily used, so that I think we can trace the line of development. It started at A I 168. Then, I submit, it was transferred to A IV 45, a very similar context, in which the Buddha is putting down a brahmin critic by turning his terms back on him. Once one knows I 168, one sees that the passage at IV 45 means: 'These renouncers, whom *you* declare to control (and benefit) themselves alone, are in fact worthy of gifts, worthier than your sacrificial fire.' But that meaning cannot be deduced from the text read in isolation, as it now stands.

The final stage was that the whole threefold characterization of ideal holy men was borrowed from A IV 45 by the other texts cited. I would surmise that the two A passages took it first and the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta* last of all, because that is a much longer text, which like much of the *Dīgha Nikāya* has been built up by combining several pericopes.

I hope to have shown that this process of composition was sometimes done in a rather automatic way: in this case, at least, the results can no longer be plausibly claimed to reflect the Buddha's own terminology. I hope also to have shown that how the Buddha argued with brahmins can be relevant to understanding some aspects, including verbal details, of his teaching. This latter theme I intend to explore in future publications.

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Notes

1 All references are to PTS publications.

2 A. K. Warder, in his *Introduction to Pali*, p. 131, uses this as a passage for reading but omits our expression, so he must have seen it as problematic.

MINOR PĀLI GRAMMAR TEXTS: THE SADDABINDU AND ITS 'NEW' SUBCOMMENTARY

Introduction

The epilegomena to volume I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary[1] give a list of 'fourteen minor texts' on Pāli grammar with a considerable number of exegetical works (see CPD Epilegomena 5.4.1–14)[2]. Most of these texts and their auxiliary literature were written in Burma between the 11th and the 19th century A.D.[3] The name 'minor grammar texts'(*saddāṅay-kyam*[3]) is found in the *Piṭaka-to*[2]*-samuiṅ*[3], a 19th century bibliography of the manuscripts kept in the Royal library at Mandalay.[4] It clearly refers to the size of the texts, which ranges from 20 to 568 verses, and is used in contrast to the 'major grammar texts' (*saddā-krī*[3]) written by Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and Aggavaṃsa.[5]

The list in Piṭ-sm is not limited to the fourteen texts given as a group in the CPD. This limitation was apparently just a publisher's choice when the texts were first printed in Burma.[6] However, we also find anthologies of '16 minor grammar texts' published in Burma in 1937, and '15 minor grammar texts' published in 1954.[7]

These minor Pāli grammar texts are hardly known outside Burma and have never been edited in Roman script.[8] Therefore I venture to present an edition of the shortest text here, along with a subcommentary. It is the *Saddabindu* ('the drop of grammar') compiled by King Kya-cvā of the Pagan dynasty (1234–50 A.D.) for the use of the ladies in the royal palace.[9] It gives a mere glimpse of the traditional subjects in Kaccāyana's grammar: euphony (*sandhi*), nouns (*nāma*), case (*kāraka*), compounds (*samāsa*), noun derivatives (*taddhita*), verbs (*ākhyāta*), and radical suffixes (*kita*) are dealt with in 1–4 verses each.

The subcommentary apparently entitled *Ganthasāro nāma Saddabinduvinicchayo* (the investigation of the *Saddabindu* (text) called 'Essence of Book(s)')[10] was written by Sad-

20 *op. cit.* (in n. 17), p. 167, n. 1.
21 cf. Abh 663: *vālukā vaṇṇu*.
22 Made available to me by Mrs Else Pauly.
23 R. C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London 1875, p. 562, s.v. *vedhavero*.
24 É. Senart, *JAs* 1871, pp. 1–339.
25 See W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1916, §46.3.
26 R. Morris, 'Notes and Queries', in *JPTS* 1891–93, p. 7.
27 Letter dated 31 January 1934. See note 19 above.
28 Vv-a p. 369.
29 See K. R. Norman, 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XIII: The palatalisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', in *JOI(B)* XXV, 1976, pp. 328–42.
30 *op. cit.* (in n. 23), p. 466, s.v. *satipaṭṭhānaṃ*.
31 It occurs as a v.l. for *bhikkhunī-passaya* at A II 144,32.
32 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogue of the Buddha*, Part II, London 1910, p. 324.
33 Sv 753,1–2 etc.
34 Translated by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Discrimination*, London 1982, p. 178 = p. 398.
35 *op. cit.* (in n. 32), p. 324.
36 See K. R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, London 1969, §41 and *Elders' Verses* II, London 1971, §65.
37 O. von Hinüber, 'Pāli as an artificial language', in *Ind. Taur.* X, 1982, pp. 133–40.
38 K. R. Norman, 'Four Etymologies from the Sabhiya-sutta', in *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980, p. 183, n. 21.
39 K. R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, London 1969, p. 297 (ad Th 1263).
40 *op. cit.* (in n. 37), p. 136.

WHERE'S THAT SUTTA?

A guide to the
Discourses
in the Numerical Collection
(Anguttara-nikāya)
listing subjects, similes, persons and places
by
Ven. Bhikkhu Khantipalo

ABBREVIATIONS

acc	according (to)
&	and
& v.v.	and vice versa (many suttas give negative first, then positive, but here the positive has not always been noted with '& v.v.')
∴	because
bh	bhikkhu (Buddhist monk)
bhnī	bḥikkhuni (Buddhist nun)
Bosat	Bodhisatta (the being to be Enlightened)
br	brahmin
B	the Buddha
Dh	Dhamma
dhs	dhammas
Dh-Vin	Dhamma-Vinaya
diff	difference, different
=	equals, is
expl, expls	explained, explains
NTs	Noble Truths
opp	opposite
+	plus
?,?s	question, questions
Q/A	questions and answers
S	Saṇgha
∴	therefore
trg	training
unwh	unwholesome
V	versus
v.v.	vice versa
Vin	Vinaya

Notes

1. Any subject may be abbreviated when referring to it, thus "Affection (pema), born of aff., aff. born of aversion ..." 'Aff.' here is obviously 'affection'.

2. In the Books of the Ones and Twos, the Chapter (vagga) number follows the Book (nipāta) number, but from the Book of the Threes onwards, the Discourse (sutta) number follows. Thus 1, 12 means Book of the Ones, chapter 12, but IV, 92 means Book of the Fours, discourse ninety-two.

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" " , reborn Deprivation ∴ meanness, jealousy, lust III, 127
" " , ways of, secret not open III, 129
" " , why not sit in assembly etc. ∴ 4 defilements IV, 80

Women (mātugāma), why ugly-poor, u.-rich, fair-p., f.-r.? IV, 197
" " (girls), how to train themselves when married V, 33
" " , as the complete snare of Māra for bhs V, 55
" " , how 4 bhs (like defeated soldiers) succumb to V, 75
" " , compared to black snake (ipsissima verba!) V, 230
" " , with 8 dhs reborn among devas of beautiful body VIII, 46
" " , triumph in this world (4 dhs) and in the next (4 dhs) VIII, 49, 50
" " , obtain Going Forth through Ven. Ānanda: 8 Dhammas VIII, 51
" " , as though thrown into hell by 10 dhs: unwh kamma-pathways, & v.v. X, 202
Words, strikingly befitting, B praised with III, 60
World (loka), protected by 2 dhs, shame & fear of blame II, 1
" " , fully understood by B, loka = dukkha in 4 NTs IV, 23
" " , going to end of where no birth, death - Rohitassa IV, 45
" " , led by & in power of mind IV, 186
" " , ensnared by 108 forms of craving IV, 199
" " (=universe), finite or inf.? Simile of 4 swift men - not to the end! IX, 38
" " ,1000-fold-w.-system and all the devas = impermanent X, 29
Worldly conditions (lokadhamma), 8, fortitude in misfortune IV, 192
" " " , 8 in brief, with verses VIII, 5
" " " , 8 in detail (trans., 'Vicissitudes of Life' Ven. Nyāponika) VIII, 6
World-system (lokadhātu), B can make voice heard in III, 80
Worldly matters (lokāyatika), brs who speculate & interpret signs IX, 38
Wrongness (micchatta), wrong view ... wrong freedom, & rightness - v.v. X, 103

Yama, King, lord of the nether regions, 3 deva-messengers III, 35
Young man/woman with dog's carcase on neck, so revulsion for body IX, 11
" " , fond of adornment looks in mirror, sees no dirt - good X, 51, 54

THE BUDDHAYĀNA OF INDONESIA: A SYNCRETISTIC FORM OF THERAVĀDA

Buddhism was first introduced into Indonesia in the course of the so-called Hinduization of Southeast Asia. From the records of the Chinese travellers we know that Buddhism existed side-by-side with Hinduism in Sumatra and in Java as early as in the first half of the 5th century. Guṇavarman (367–431) was one of the earliest Buddhist masters of the law to spread the dharma on the island of Java. According to the Chinese sources as evaluated by Dr. (Mrs.) Valentina Stache-Rosen he was a member of a dethroned Kashmirian royal family. He received ordination at the age of twenty. Later on, he travelled to Ceylon and to Java where he was able to convert the king and the people to Buddhism. In 424, Guṇavarman left Java for China at the invitation of the Chinese Emperor.[1]

The literary sources for the knowledge of the development of Indonesian Buddhism in the following centuries are rather scanty.[2] We can, however, derive information from a large number of Buddhist monuments and from inscriptions. In the early period, Hīnayāna of several schools (Mūlasarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika, Sammitīya and Sthaviravādin) existed side-by-side with Mahāyāna. Later on, Mantrayāna or Vajrayāna of a particular Javanese form seems to have replaced all other forms of Buddhism in Indonesia. From the period after A.D. 929 when the royal court shifted to East Java, some Old Javanese Buddhist texts have been preserved. The most famous of the scriptures of Old Javanese Buddhism is the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The text as handed down in the manuscript consists, however, of two separate works: Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya and Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.[3] The second of these works was dated by Dr. (Mrs.) Haryati Soebadio 'in approximately the same period as Sutasoma Kakavin', i.e. in the second half of the fourteenth century, while the first text may have been composed considerably earlier.[31] In evaluating the available information, Dr. Soebadio suggests that there existed 'a longstanding peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Śivaism as two independent and equally respected systems'.[4]

The further development of the religious traditions of Indian origin in Java and Bali saw the growth of a full-fledged syncretism of Buddhism and Śivaism and the doctrine of the identity of Śiva and Buddha. It is in this particular form that Buddhist elements survive in the modern religion of Bali.[5] This religion is officially termed Agama Hindu.[6] Buddhism has totally merged in this Balinese syncretism, and the Hindu elements in this religion proved to be much stronger than those of Buddhist origin. C. Hooykaas found that there were only sixteen Buddha priests (*padanda*) as against several hundreds of Śiva priests in Bali and Lombok when he studied the situation in 1967.[7]

Against this background we understand that Buddhism was described as a religion of the past only in the contribution on Indonesia in the *2500 Buddha Jayanti Souvenir* of 1956.[8] It is only in the last paragraphs of that article that a short reference is made to recently formed groups 'whose members call themselves Buddhists, though naturally they profess a special sort of Javanese Buddhism'.[9]

At present, however, Buddhism or *agama Buddha* is one of the five officially recognised religions in Indonesia (*panca agama di Indonesia*), together with Islam (*agama Islam*), Catholicism (*agama Kristen Katolik*), Protestantism (*agama Kristen Protestan*) and Hinduism (*agama Hindu*). Buddhism in this sense is not to be confused with the Buddhist elements in the religion of Bali and Lombok, which is called the *agama Hindu* of Indonesia.

The revival of Buddhism in Indonesia seems to have had three roots: Buddhism of Chinese origin, Buddhist missions from the Theravāda countries, and the reconversion of Javanese and Balinese to Buddhism which seems to have been influenced by the spread of the ideas of Theosophy and other systems of mysticism. Such influences have not, however, everywhere resulted in a revival of Buddhism. There exists a number of mystical sects in Java which remained in the wider realm of Islam.[10] There can be no doubt, however, that ideas of the international Theosophical movement helped to prepare the ground for the acceptance of Buddhism by certain sections of the population of Java.

Notes on the revival of Buddhism in Indonesia can be found in several international Buddhist journals like *World Buddhism*

(e.g. vol. I, no. 5, Dec. 1952, p. 5; vol. II, no. 8, March 1954, p. 2; vol. VI, no. 9, April 1958, pp. 3-4 etc.). The first and, to my knowledge, until now the only more detailed account of modern Indonesian Buddhism was published in Bangkok in 1971 as a record of a Buddhist mission. This mission visited Indonesia in 1970. It was led by Phra Sāsana Sobhana of Wat Bovoranives in Bangkok.[11] From this source, we get a good knowledge of the early stages of the revival of Buddhism. Up to 1953, 'the Buddhasāsana in Indonesia was represented by Chinese Buddhist temples with a few Chinese monks from mainland China, and a core of faithful Chinese devotees. Among the native peoples however, few called themselves Buddhist, and these were mostly educated people who had learnt of Buddhism through the Theosophical Society.' We are further informed that 'with independence and the 2500 Buddha Jayanti, more Indonesians began to investigate the Dhamma and to return to the old religion of their ancestors. Whole groups of people were found in the mountains who called themselves "Buddhists" but who knew very little of Dhamma. And later, when all Indonesians were exhorted to follow a religion (those who did not do so being Communists and banned after the 1965 Revolt) by their Government, many only nominally Muslim declared themselves Buddhists'.[12]

The introduction of Theravāda in Indonesia is described as largely being the result of the activities of Ven. Jinarakkhita, an Indonesian who received upasampadā in Burma in April 1954. Already in 1953, Vesak was celebrated at Borobudur, and since then, the ancient group of Buddhist monuments in Central Java consisting of Borobudur, Candi Mendut and Candi Pawon, was again considered as the centre of Indonesian Buddhism. The Ven. Nārada Mahāthera of Vajirārāma in Colombo, who had carried out Dhammadūta work in Indonesia as early as in 1934, revisited Java in 1958 and laid the foundation stone of the Buddhist Centre in Semerang. Since 1955, a number of Buddhist organisations had been formed, and Perhimpunan Buddhis Indonesia (official abbreviation: Perbuddhi) was the most important of the Theravāda oriented groups. In 1962, already fourteen Buddhist Theravāda viharas existed in Sumatra, Java and Bali.[13]

It is difficult to establish the number of Buddhists in Indonesia at present. In a report published in 1961, it is said that the

adherents of Buddhism in Indonesia 'could only be counted in hundreds or in thousands',[14] while a correspondent in Indonesia had written in 1960 that there were about 6 million Buddhists there.[15] A more recent note even counts 'over fifteen million Buddhists scattered throughout the Indonesian islands'.[16] More reliable information is available on the number of 'worship facilities' which is recorded in official statistics.[17] For Buddhism, the number is 1267 (Java and Madura 362, Sumatra 342, Bali 80, Kalimantan 197, Sulawesi 157, other islands 129).

After 1965, Indonesian Buddhists had to formulate their views on the question of the existence of god. This had to be done in accordance with the principles of *pancasila* of May 29, 1945 which form part of the fundamental laws of the Republic of Indonesia. The first of these five principles is *ketuhanan yang maha esa*, i.e. belief in god. In 1966, a German publisher by the name of Gerhard Szczesny issued a posthumous reprint of the book *Buddhismus und Gottesidee* (Buddhism and the concept of god) by Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963) under the changed title *Der Buddhismus, eine atheistische Religion* which was in turn translated into English and published in 1970 as *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion.*[18] The present author contributed a selection from Buddhist scriptures to this reprint, but he was not informed by the publisher that the book was to be published under a title different from the original book-title, nor was he informed when the English edition was being prepared. Later on, my attention was drawn to the fact that certain problems arose for the Buddhists of Indonesia when this book became known in Indonesia, because the recognition of Buddhism as a religion under the fundamental principles of *pancasila* was at stake if Buddhism was atheistic.

For the Buddhists of Indonesia who followed the Theravāda tradition there were two ways out of the dilemma: One group reinterpreted *nibbāna* as being *maha esa*. As a scriptural justification for this interpretation, the famous passage in Udāna VIII, 3 about the *nibbāna* (*atthi bhikkhave ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asaṅkhataṃ . . .*) is being quoted.[19] The followers of this group form the Agama Buddha Mazhab (school) Theravada di Indonesia, and their organisation is called Majelis Pandita Buddha Dhamma Indonesia (abbreviated: Mapanbuddhi).

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There is, however, another group of Indonesian Buddhists with monks who have received their upasampadā from Theravāda tradition, viz. the followers of the afore-mentioned Jinarakkhita Thera. This group is organised as Majelis Upasaka Pandita Agama Buddha Indonesia (abbreviated: Muabi) or Majelis Agung Agama Buddha Indonesia. It was also called Buddhayāna, but this term has now fallen into disuse and was recently replaced by Agama Buddha Indonesia in their own publications. For the followers of this form of Buddhism, the ancient traditions of Javanese Buddhism can be combined with the traditions of Theravāda. According to their teachings, the concept of the Ādibuddha can be derived from these indigenous Javanese traditions and it can be proclaimed as the Buddhist concept of God.[20]

For the knowledge of the teachings of Muabi we can rely on a number of publications, e.g. *Buddha Dharma Samvacana* of 1977, or the cyclostyled *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha* ed. by Sangha Agung Indonesia, Cipanas-Pacet, s.d. (ca. 1978). In both sources, three groups of books are determined to be the *kitab suci*, i.e. the holy scriptures of Agama Buddha Indonesia: 1. the Tripiṭaka of the Theravādin in Pali, 2. the Sanskrit Pitaka and 3. the Kawi Pitaka. Sanskrit Pitaka is then more exactly described as a number of Mahāyāna and Tantric works in Sanskrit. While a long list of titles is found in *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, the other publication lists only three: Hṛdayasūtra (i.e. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra), Vajracchedikā and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. 'Kawi Pitaka' is said to consist of the holy Buddhist scriptures in the Kawi or Old-Javanese language, viz. Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrāyana, Kuñjarakarṇa, Sutasoma etc.[21] The material which was actually used for the doctrinal statements in these works consists of a rather limited collection of texts, translations and secondary sources.[22] As far as I could ascertain, the Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan (including the Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya which forms the first portion of the edited text) is the only Old Javanese Buddhist text which is in practical use with Javanese Buddhists today. It is available in a new edition issued by the Government of Indonesia.[23]

The Agama Buddha Indonesia thus has followed the centuries-old tradition of religious syncretism in Indonesia, but this time not by combining elements of Hindu and of Buddhist origin as

was the case with the Śiva-Buddhism of Old Java and Bali. Here, concepts and texts from different Buddhist traditions have merged. This new form of Buddhism proved attractive for several Buddhist communities including a considerable number of Buddhists of Chinese origin, because thereby they could adopt a form of Buddhism which declared itself to be genuinely Indonesian, and, at the same time, they could retain many of the traditions and practices of Chinese Mahāyāna. Chinese names of Buddhist monasteries were now officially replaced by Indonesian names which were largely of Sanskrit or Pali origin, e.g. Wihara Sakyawanaram, Wihara Tri Ratna, Wihara Dharmayuga, Wihara Tunggal Dharma, Wihara Amerta Dharma etc. In these viharas, a small selection of Chinese Buddhist texts—mainly the Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha, Vajracchedikā and the Mahāprajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra[24] —is studied and used for chanting together with Paritta books of Indonesian Buddhism which mainly consist of Pali texts.

To give readers an impression of the contents of these Indonesian compilations, I shall now describe the contents of the booklet *Ringkasan Pancaran Bahagia Paritta Mantram*. This text was available to me in a cyclostyled copy of 42 pages from Wihara Kusalaratna in Jakarta. The whole book is composed in two scripts, the text being first written in Roman script and in the following line in a phonetic transliteration of the Pali or Sanskrit words in Chinese characters. The few words in Bahasa Indonesia are translated into Chinese. The collection consists of 32 short texts:[25]

1. *Permohonan terhadap seorang bhikkhu*, p. 1 ('asking a bhikkhu', viz. for the three refuges and the five precepts). *TR*, p.3, 1.4-17; *BDS*, p.41, 1.5-14. Cf. *Mirror*, p.1.

2. *Vandanā*, pp.1-2. *TR*, p.13; *BDS*, p.43. This passage runs as follows:

namo sanghyang Ādibuddhāya. namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammāsambuddhassa. namo Amitābha Buddhāya. namo Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo Kuvera Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. namo Bhaiṣajyaguru Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva. namo sabbe Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvāya.[26]

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3. *Tisaraṇa*, pp.2-3. *TR*, p.14; *BDS*, p.44. *Mirror*, p.1. It forms the beginning of Khp and Paritta.

4. *Pañcasīla*, p.3. *TR*, p.14; *BDS*, p.44. *Mirror*, p.2. Second text in Khp and Paritta.

5. *Pūjā*, pp. 4-5. *TR*, pp. 18-9; *BDS*, pp. 45-6. With minor variations in *Mirror*, pp. 9-10. Well-known pūjāgāthās in Pāli which are found in all editions of Bauddha Ädahilla, Bauddha-pratipattidīpaniya and similar works. All Indonesian texts read *bodhirāya nam' atthu* for *bodhirājā nam' atthu*.

6. *Buddhānussati*, p.5. *TR*, p.20; *BDS*, p.47. *Mirror*, p.4. The famous formula *iti pi so Bhagavā* . . . as found in Vin III 1 etc. and Visṃ (ed. H.C. Warren and Dh. Kosambi) 162 in the passage on *Buddhānussati*.

7. *Dhammānussati*, p.6. *TR*, p.21; *BDS*, p.48. *Mirror*, p.5. The formula *svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo* . . . as found in D III 5 etc., and Visṃ 176; followed by *namo tassa nīyānikassa dhammassa*.

8. *Saṅghānussati*, pp. 6-7. *TR*, p. 22; *BDS*, p. 49. *Mirror*, pp.6-7. The formula *supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho* . . . as found in D III 5 etc., and Visṃ 180; followed by the passages and stanzas *namo tassa aṭṭhaariyapuggala-mahādhammassa* etc. as in *Mirror*, pp.6-7.

9. *Karaṇīyamettasutta*, pp.7-9. *TR*, pp.23-4; *BDS*, pp.50-1. *Mirror*, p.38. In Khp IX and in all versions of the Paritta.

10. *Ettāvatā*, pp.9-10. *TR*, pp.25-6; *BDS*, pp.52-3. In different order *Mirror*, pp. 11-12. Cf. also Pōhaddaramullē Sugatajoti, *Sitiyam sahita Bauddha vandanā pota*, Colombo, Viśākhā Kulaṅgana Samitiya, 1954, pp.47-8 and 51-2, and many similar works.

11. *Pujian bagi semua Buddha*, pp. 10-11 ('Pūjā for all Buddhas'). *TR*, pp. 30-1; *BDS*, pp. 69-70. *Mirror*, pp. 21-2. In Ceylonese versions of the Paritta under the title of *Aṭavisi pirita*.

12. *Untuk upacara kematian*, p. 12 (for funeral rituals). *TR*, p. 44, *BDS*, p. 64. *Mirror*, p. 12. The stanza *aniccā vata saṅkhārā* from D II 157, Th 1159 etc.

13. *Lagu memuji*, p.12 (with musical notation). *BDS*, p.150. Short Buddhastotra in Bahasa Indonesia, composed by Bhikkhu Girirakkhita.[27]

14. *Mahāmaṅgalasutta*, pp. 13-14. *TR*, pp. 27-9; *BDS*, pp. 54-6. *Mirror*, p.32. Khp V; in all Paritta versions.

15. *Ratanasutta*, pp. 15-20. *TR*, pp. 36-9; *BDS*, pp. 65-8. *Mirror*, pp.34-6. Khp VI and in Paritta.

16. *Bojjhaṅgasutta*, pp. 20-21. *TR*, pp. 51-2; *BDS*, p. 64. Extract from the Bojjhaṅgaparitta as found in the Annex of the Paritta (e.g. *Catubhāṇavāra pāḷi saha Äṇavum pirit ādiya*, ed. Üraliyē Dhīrānanda, Colombo, J.M.D. Pīris, 1956, appendix, pp.11-12).

17. *Pattumodanā* (i.e. *pattānumodanā*), p. 21. *TR*, p. 34; *BDS*, p. 76. Stanzas 20-22 from Jinapañjara (cf. *Mirror*, p. 31) as found in the Annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, p. 9).

18. *Mahākaruṇādhāraṇī*, pp. 22-3, and 19. *Hamakaruṇādhāraṇī*, pp. 23-5. In *TR*, pp. 137-9; two parts of one short dhāraṇī text in Sanskrit.[28]

20. *Aṅgulimālaparitta*, p. 26. *TR*, p. 52; *BDS*, p. 54. *Mirror*, p. 44. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, p. 10) and incorporating the passage M II 103, 19-21.

21. *Pengampunan kesalahan*, pp.26-7 ('Forgiveness of faults'). Pali text. *Mirror*, p.11.

22. *Tanam kebaikan*, p.27. Stanza Dhp 183 (cf. *BDS*, p.151) and the often chanted stanza *etena saccavajjena* . . . (all pādas found in Mahāmaṅgalagāthā, though in different order).

23. *Wong Seng Ciu*, p.28. Short dhāraṇī in Sanskrit.

24. *Namaksekara* (i.e. *namaskāra*), p. 28. Short formulas of homage in mixed language.

25. *Pemberkahan*, pp. 29-30. *TR*, p. 33; *BDS*, p. 82. Stanzas 12, 16 and 18 of Mahājayamaṅgalagāthā (cf. *Mirror*, pp. 26-7).

26. *Jalanandanaparitta*, pp. 31-2. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, pp.28-9).

27. *Jayamaṅgalagāthā*, p. 32 (incomplete, but with musical notation). *TR*, pp.40-1; *BDS*, pp.78-9. *Mirror*, pp.23-4. In the annex of the Paritta (*loc.cit.*, appendix, pp.17-19).

28. *Aku berlindung*, p. 33 (with musical notation; only first stanza). *TR*, p. 181; *BDS*, p. 149. Modern Indonesian Dharmagītā.

29. *Aku berlindung*, pp. 33-4. *TR*, p. 183. Indonesian Dharmagītā composed by Bhikkhu Girirakkhita.

30. *Malam yang suci*, pp.35-6, 31. *Bunga teratai*, p.37, and 32. *Sang Buddha Gautama*, pp.37-41 (with musical notation). Three modern Indonesian hymns.

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The collection consists of 21 Pali texts (no. 1, 3-12, 14-17, 20-22, 25-27), four dhāraṇīs and stotras in Sanskrit or hybrid Sanskrit (no. 18, 29, 23, 24), six poems in Bahasa Indonesia (no. 13, 28-32) and the mixed *vandanā* (no.2). Other collections of Buddhist texts that were published for practical use by Indonesian Buddhists show a similar picture. The influence of Pali Buddhism is by far the strongest element in this form of Indonesian Buddhism, but reference to Ādibuddha and to the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna is always found in all vandanā-formulas used by the followers of Buddhayāna or Muabi. The following formula now seems to have become the established vandanā:[29]

namo Sanghyang Ādi Buddhāya, namo Buddhāya, namo sarve Bodhisatvāya Mahāsatvāya.

A number of viharas which were purely Chinese have also joined Perbuddhi or Muabi in recent years. Here, Chinese texts, of course, still play a major role for many rituals. However, the use of Pali gāthās has meanwhile been introduced not only here, but also in some of the monasteries of the Tridharma school which is the Indonesian variant of the well-known traditional syncretism of the three Chinese religions, viz. Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Though the name Tridharma still reflects the fact that this school originated from a syncretistic form of the three religions and though some non-Buddhistic rituals are still being performed in its temples, Tridharma of Indonesia is on the way to becoming distinctly Buddhist at the expense of the other elements of its tradition. Together with the other Buddhists of Indonesia, Tridharma has joined the All-Indonesian Federation of Buddhist Organizations which was formed in 1978, the Perwalian Umat Buddha Indonesia (or Walubi).

The present contribution is meant to give preliminary information on the role of Pali in modern Indonesian Buddhism, and I hope to be able to collect and provide more information in the future.[30]

GÖTTINGEN HEINZ BECHERT

Notes

1 See Valentina Stache-Rosen, 'Gunavarman (367-431), A Comparative Analysis of the Biographies found in the Chinese Tripitaka', *Bulletin of Tibetology* X, 1, 1973, pp.5-54.
2 Cf. Waldemar Stöhr and Piet Zoetmulder, *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1965, pp.233-5.
3 See K. Wulff, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya, Ansprache bei der Weihe buddhistischer Mönche aus dem Altjavanischen übersetzt* . . ., København, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1935.
4 Haryati Soebadio, *Jñānasiddhānta*, The Hague, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1971, p.61.
5 For details, see Jacob Ensink, 'Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali', in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978, pp. 178-98.
6 Yusuf A. Puar, *Panca Agama di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Pustaka Antara, s.d., pp. 109-30.
7 C. Hooykaas, *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1973, pp.250-1.
8 R. Soekmono, 'Indonesia – where Buddhism once Flourished', in Ananda W.P. Guruge and K.G. Amaradasa (ed.), *2500 Buddha Jayanti Souvenir*, Colombo, Lanka Bauddha Mandalaya, 1956, pp.96-104.
9 Soekmono, *loc.cit.*, p.104.
10 Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, London, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp.339-52.
11 Bhikkhu Khantipālo, *A Record of Journeys in Indonesia for the Ordination of five Bhikkhus at the Great Stupa of Borobudur by Phra Sāsana Sobhana from the 6th of May to the 13th May 2513*, Bangkok, Mahamakut Press, B.E. 2514.
12 Khantipālo, *loc. cit.*, p.2.
13 Cf. 'Burma at Borobudur', *World Buddhism* II, 8, March 1954, p.2; 'Revival of Buddhism in Indonesia', *ibid.* VI, 9, April 1958, p.3; U. Visakha Tjen, 'Buddhism in Indonesia', *ibid.*, XI, 4, November 1962, p.22.
14 J.G. de Casparis, 'Development of Buddhism in Indonesia', *World Buddhism* X, 2, Sept. 1961, p.21.
15 'Buddhist News from Indonesia', *World Buddhism* IX, 5, Dec. 1960, p.9.
16 'Indonesians want Books on Buddhism', *World Buddhism* XVII, 4, Nov. 1968, p.105.
17 *Buku Saku Statistik Indonesia*, Jakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1977, p.58.
18 Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Buddhismus und Gottesidee*, Wiesbaden, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz), 1954; id., *Buddhismus, eine atheistische Religion*, München, Szczesny Verlag, 1966; id., *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1970.

19 *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pembabaran Agama Buddha Mazhab Theravāda di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Yayasan Dhammadipa-ārāma, 1979, p.13.

20 Ādibuddha was known in the tradition of Old Javanese and Balinese Vajrayāna. See, e.g., Buddhastava in T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava (Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava) of Balinese Brahman Priests*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1971, p.412, no.685:

praṇamya satataṃ Buddhaṃ Ādibuddhanamaskāram 1
sattvasattvakapuṇyakaṃ vakṣye vakṣye dhanaṃ param II

The question of the actual sources for the Ādibuddha concept in modern Indonesian Buddhayāna is, however, not yet answered by this statement.

21 *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, pp.4–5; Upi Pandita Suktadharmi and Upa Pandita Dharmanitya, *Buddha Dharma Samvacana*, Jakarta, Yayasan 'Sang Buddha', 1977, pp. 1–40.

22 Of the 39 titles quoted in the bibliographical list in *Doktrin Sanghyang Adi Buddha*, pp.13–16, only one title represents a Buddhist *kitab suci* in its original language, viz. the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan. The other books quoted are five English translations of Pali and Sanskrit texts, one book with selections from the Pali Canon (viz. Nyanatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*), twenty-nine secondary works on Buddhism (14 in English, 11 in Bahasa Indonesia, 3 in Dutch and 1 in German), one Theosophical work and finally two general works on religious science.

23 *Kitab Suci Sanghyang Kamahayanikan*, Jakarta, Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Hindu dan Buddha, 1979. An earlier edition was issued in 1973. I am grateful to the Directorate-General of Religious Affairs of Indonesia for sending me the new edition.

24 The mantra from Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra is reproduced in TR (see below, note 25), p.136.

25 Reference is made to parallel passages in two other Indonesian collections of short Buddhist texts, viz. *Pantjaran Tri Ratna*, published by Perbuddhi, s.d. (abbreviated *TR*) and the above-mentioned (see note 21) *Buddha Dharma Samvacana* (abbreviated *BDS*). The abbreviation *Mirror* refers to Nārada Thera and Bhikkhu Kassapa, *The Mirror of the Dhamma*, Colombo, Vajirarama Publication Society, 1956. Other abbreviations follow the system used in the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

26 Text reproduced without corrections, but some diacritical marks are supplied.

27 Ven. Girirakkhita is the presiding abbot of the Brahmavihārārāma in Banjar, North Bali. His community belongs to Mapanbuddhi.

28 Texts no. 18, 19 and 23 do not seem to have been handed down by the Bauddha Brahmans of Bali, so that Buddhayāna is definitely indebted to Chinese tradition for these texts which were

transliterated from Chinese sources. Dhāraṇī no. 19 also in *Surangamadharani*, Singapore, Nanyang Buddhist Culture Service, s.d., pp.7–9.

29 It is found in several publications, e.g. Ashin Jinarakkhita, *Riwayat Buddha Gautama*, Pacet-Sindanglaya, Yayasan 'Sakyamula', 1974, pp.2–3.

30 A study of the Ādibuddha concept in modern Indonesian Buddhism by the present author is in preparation.

31 For the sources of the first of these works see J.W. de Jong, 'Notes on the sources and the text of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya', in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 130, 1974, pp. 465–82.

THE PAṬṬHĀNA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THERAVĀDIN ABHIDHAMMA

Vijñānavādin antecedents

Vasubandhu and a number of other Vijñānavādin writers defend the key idealist doctrine of the *ālaya-vijñāna* or store-consciousness from the charge of innovation by appealing to pre-existent notions among the Mahāsāṅghikas and Mahīśāsakas and also to the idea of the *bhavāṅga-vijñāna.*[1] The first two of these are mentioned already by Asaṅga.

One of the principal functions of the concept of *ālaya-vijnāna* is to solve the two closely related problems of the continuity of personality and the mechanism of karma without postulating an unchanging soul or substratum of existence. It is not then surprising to find the *pudgala* doctrine of the powerful Sāṃmitīya school omitted from the list of predecessors. The equally numerous but historically more influential sect of the Sarvāstivāda had no need for a storehouse-consciousness; for it held that past and future dharmas exist and accepted a physical manifestation of karma. Not surprisingly Asaṅga and his successors looked especially for support to ideas derived from the traditions of that considerable body of schools which had not accepted either the *pudgala* or the so-called realist doctrine of *sarvam asti*.

Unfortunately the two sources cited by Asaṅga are among the early Buddhist sects whose particular doctrines are less well-known to us. It is therefore impossible to judge how far Asaṅga's claims for the antiquity of the idea of the *ālaya-vijñāna* are really justified. Vasubandhu's reference to the *bhavāṅga-vijñāna* is therefore of particular importance. He himself attributes it to the Sinhalese sect (Tāmraparṇīya-nikāya), but later Vijñānavādin writers refer to this as a doctrine of the Sthaviras or Vibhajyavādins. At least two of these names must in this context refer to the school known today as the Theravāda.

North Indian Buddhist sources do not often mention the Theravāda before the Pāla period. There are, it is true, a few indications of a measure of interaction. Chinese sources inform

us that the Sinhalese monastery at Bodhgayā which was visited by Hsüan-tsang was founded during the reign of Samudragupta (latter half of the fourth century). Sinhalese monks are mentioned in an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa dated to the third quarter of the third century A.D. Further south the situation was perhaps rather different. The Ceylon commentaries give the impression that the Theravāda was well established in the Coḷa country in the time of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa (fl. c.430 A.D.). Indeed these works show that the Buddhists of the Theravāda school were reasonably aware of their mainly Mahāsāṅghika co-religionists in South India, but knew little of the North Indian systems.

We need not suppose that there was no connection at all between North and South India. This is quite obviously not the case with Buddhist art. More probably ideas and practices percolated slowly in both directions by means of intermediaries. In the present connection, however, it is possible that we should look more specifically to the Mahīśāsaka school for a means of transmission. Asaṅga in fact mentions their doctrine of the *āsaṃsārika-skandha* as a precursor of *ālaya-vijñāna*. Hsüan-tsang informs us that Asaṅga was originally a member of this school himself. Its geographical spread appears to have been particularly wide. Fa-hsien obtained a copy of their Vinaya in Ceylon, while the author of the Jātaka Commentary states that he was invited to compose the work by a monk of the Mahiṃsāsaka-vaṃsa. If we are to believe the *Visuddhimaggagaṇṭhipada,*[2] Buddhaghosa cites a work of theirs entitled Peṭaka; this may or may not be the work known to us as *Peṭakopadesa*. If the two can be identified, this would tend to confirm Bareau's suggestion that the Mahiṃsāsaka were originally the mainland counterpart of the Theravāda.[3]

Origins of the term bhavaṅga

Whether there is any direct influence or not, only from Theravādin sources can we at present hope to investigate Asaṅga's claim. The Pali term *bhavaṅga* first appears in this sense in the *Paṭṭhāna* and then in the *Milinda-pañha.*[4] Keith comments:

> The *bhavaṅga*, or stream of being, is a conception barely known in the Abhidhamma, and there not explained, but it evidently has already here[5] the sense of a continuum which is not conscious, but from which consciousness emerges, and which may therefore be reckoned as subconscious.[6]

With some qualification this is the position of the commentaries. It cannot, however, be taken as evidence for an earlier period. The relevant section of the *Milinda-pañha* cannot be dated with certainty much prior to the fifth century.

A rather different approach is taken by Sarathchandra in his study of the theory of the *citta-vīthi*. He writes: 'The word *bhavaṅga*, borrowed from the Sarvastivada Abhidharma, meant originally a link in the Causal Chain or *pratītyasamutpāda*'.[7] This usage of the term is in fact not unknown to Pali literature. The formula of dependent origination is quite widely known as the wheel of existence (*bhava*). So it is quite natural for its parts to be referred to as factors of existence. Such a usage is explicit in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*, which lists the various terms which make up dependent origination and concludes:

> *Imāni bhavaṅgāni yadā samaggāni nibbattāni bhavanti, so bhavo. Taṃ saṃsārassa padaṭṭhānaṃ.*[8]
>
> When these factors of existence are conjointly produced, this is existence. Existence is the proximate cause of saṃsāra.

Later in the same work it becomes clear that the term *bhavaṅga* is used in the sense of a factor which tends to produce existence. The term also occurs once in the *Peṭakopadesa*, apparently in the same sense.[9]

The dating of the *Netti-pakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* is uncertain. Both were known to Buddhaghosa. The *Peṭakopadesa* seems to have influenced the *Vimuttimagga*, a pre-Buddhaghosa work, which only survives in Chinese translation. Ñāṇamoli has, however, shown that the *Netti-pakaraṇa* is in part based upon the *Peṭakopadesa*. He has also argued that the latter shows signs of being in origin an oral work.[10] My own reading of it has left me with the same impression. Since it shows traces of influence from some of the earlier works of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, it may be appropriate to think of the second century B.C. for the

work in its present form. Of course it is quite likely that it incorporates earlier traditions. The *Netti-pakaraṇa* was dated by Hardy to 'about the beginning of our era or shortly later.'[11] An earlier date is not impossible.

On this basis it would seem that the use in these two works of the term *bhavaṅga* to designate the links of dependent origination is as old as its use in Sarvāstivādin and Mahāyānist literature. No doubt it is best looked upon as part of the common stock of Buddhist technical terminology of the period. In fact it seems quite plain that this is the original meaning of the term, from which the use to designate a type of consciousness is derived.

In the commentarial literature *bhavaṅga* is explained as meaning cause (*hetu*) of existence. This is perhaps simply to say that the twelve *aṅgas* of dependent origination are identical to the twelve *paccayas* (conditions) or twelve *nidānas* (origins) and are hence in fact causes. This would be reinforced by the widespread use of expressions such as *ten' aṅgena* effectively in the sense of 'for this reason'.

The source of the term *bhavaṅga* used to designate or qualify a particular type of consciousness is then apparent. In the formula of dependent origination the third *aṅga* is consciousness, but in this context it is often used specifically to refer to consciousness at the moment of conception. This would be a less active type of consciousness resulting from past actions. Just such is the *bhavaṅga-citta* of the commentaries. In fact the connection is not entirely forgotten. The later tradition relates the consciousness at conception (*paṭisandhi*) and at death (*cuti*) to the *bhavaṅga* mind. To a large extent these are treated as special terms for the first and last in the series of moments of *bhavaṅga* consciousness.[12]

The theory of the citta-vīthi in the commentaries

Perhaps at this point it would be useful to turn to the description of the process of consciousness given in the commentarial tradition. From here it may be easier to approach the origin and development of the system at an earlier period in the development of the abhidhamma. The system is set out in the works of Buddhaghosa, in detail in the *Visuddhimagga* and *Aṭṭhasālinī*,

more briefly in his Sutta commentaries; in the writings of Buddhadatta and in the Chinese translation of the *Vimuttimagga*. Pali commentators and subcommentators after the fifth century A.D. add only a very little. The present account will be largely based upon the account of Buddhaghosa.[13]

The commentarial description of the consciousness process is highly complex. This is partly due to the abhidhamma attempt to cover all possible cases. So it can be made much simpler by excluding matters which apply only to non-human beings, to defective human beings or to normal human beings who are either experiencing some kind of higher consciousness or have attained some degree of sanctity. In this way a restricted account of the process as it applies to the ordinary person can be given.

Only forty five types of consciousness are then relevant. They fall into two groups:

a) *caused* – the cause will either be delusion or one of the possible combinations among delusion, greed, hate, non-greed, non-hate or non-delusion. Twenty eight types of caused consciousness are listed, divided into eight skilful, eight resultant and twelve unskilful.

b) *causeless* – i.e. not caused by any of the above. These number seventeen. This is made up of five sense consciousnesses which result from skilful action, five which result from unskilful action, the two mind elements (*mano-dhātu*) resulting from skilful and unskilful action respectively, mind consciousness element (*manoviññāṇa-dhātu*) resulting from unskilful action, two mind consciousness elements resulting from skilful action but differentiated by the accompanying feeling, the mind element which is purely activity (*kiriyā*) and the mind consciousness element (accompanied by neutral feeling) which is purely activity.

The term *kiriyā* designates a type of mentality which does not take part in the kammic process–it is neither the result of some previous action nor does it itself give rise to any result in the future. As the term applies most frequently to the state of mind of the arahat, it should not be translated by words such as 'functional' or 'inoperative', which have inappropriate connotations. The *kiriyā* mind is not mechanical, effete or unfeelingly robotic. Rather it is intended to designate the spiritual sensitivity of a man of developed wisdom, who responds to every situation with

appropriate activity without partiality of any kind. Here of course it is occurring in a weak form accessible to all.

Each of the above types of consciousness represents an interlocking complex of phenomena, made up of the appropriate type of mind, a number of appropriate mentals (*cetasika*) and groups of material phenomena of various kinds. The *number* of mentals will vary from a minimum of seven in the simplest form of sense consciousness up to a maximum of thirty five in a developed skilful consciousness. They will also vary *qualitatively* according to the type of consciousness. So for example the feeling which accompanies a skilful mind is itself skilful and qualitatively different to the feeling accompanying an unskilful mind. The precise details of all this do not concern us here. It suffices perhaps to point out that the commentarial account of all this is firmly based upon the description given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. A few additional details have been added, but there are no changes of substance.

Mind door process

In fact this work gives a fairly static account of mentality and matter as they occur in particular moments–analogous let us say to a single frame in a motion picture. The theory of the *citta-vīthi* attempts to show their occurrence over a series of such moments –more analogous to a particular event in the film. Two types of process are described: five door process and mind door process. These may occur in succession to one another or the mind door process may occur independently. We will take the latter simpler case first. This describes the situation of the individual who is absorbed in thought or memory without any direct perception of his sensory environment.

In this mind door process we need only take account of four of the functions (*kicca*) of consciousness:

1. *Bhavaṅga* – this is always one of the eight kinds of consciousness which are resultant and caused. The same type of mentality will normally perform this function throughout the life of a given individual. Its precise nature will be determined either by previous actions recalled to mind at the end of the

previous life or by the manner in which death was met. Nevertheless it must be one of the above eight which result from some kind of skilful action or normal human birth could not have occurred. We may interpret its continuance throughout life as the natural mode to which the mind continually reverts as indicating its role of 'carrying' the essential features of the individual—those tendencies which remain apparently unchanged in a particular individual throughout a given life.

2. *Adverting* – this will always be a single occurrence of the *kiriyā* mind consciousness element (uncaused and accompanied by neutral feeling).

3. *Javana* – this will either be one of the eight skilful or one of the twelve unskilful consciousnesses. The term *javana* 'running' appears to be used to indicate the active nature of the mentality which performs this function. We may compare the simile given to differentiate skilful from resultant consciousness:

> . . . the resultant is free from striving and like such things as the reflection (*nimitta*) of the face on the surface of a mirror; the skilful does involve striving and is like the face itself.[14]

Javana mind then makes up all the more active components of the individual. We may interpret its continual recurrence in different forms as indicating the everchanging manifestations of human personality—all those behaviour patterns formed by experience and habit in the course of life.

4. *Tadārammaṇa* – this is also called *piṭṭhi-bhavaṅga* 'after-bhavaṅga' to indicate that a special kind of *bhavaṅga* mind can occur immediately after a series of *javana* moments.[15] The term *tad-ārammaṇa* 'having the same object' is used to indicate that this kind of *bhavaṅga* retains the object of the *javana* mind. It may perhaps be seen as fixing the conscious experience of the *javana* stage in the unconscious mind. *Bhavaṅga* however is only unconscious in the sense that the subsequent memory of it is unclear. We may perhaps rather see the *tad-ārammaṇa* as providing a substitute which can partially displace the original *bhavaṅga*—not of course completely. This would be especially appropriate in the case of persistent unskilful activity. The function of *tad-ārammaṇa* is performed by eleven types of resultant consciousness

—eight caused and three causeless mind consciousness elements. It will only occur if the mental object is clear. Otherwise as soon as the *javana* mind ceases the mind enters *bhavaṅga*.

TABLE ONE : MIND DOOR PROCESS

function	*bhavaṅga*	*adverting*	*javana*	*tad-ārammaṇa*
citta	caused	causeless mind consciousness element	skilful or unskilful	mind consciousness element
associated cetasikas	up to 33	11	up to 34 or up to 21	up to 33 (caused) up to 11 (causeless)
kammic status	result of action	neither action nor result of action	action	result of action
duration	no definite limit	one moment	up to seven moments	one or two moments

This then is the normal flow of the mind when attention is not paid to the senses. If there is no particular activity, it remains in a state of rest: *bhavaṅga*. This continues without interruption in deep dreamless sleep. If thought or memory occur, then the active *javana* stage has arisen. In vague musing or unclear remembering there may be continual alternation between these two modes; for the active mode has only a limited duration before the mind must lapse into its normal passive mode. Of course to refer to these as modes is not strictly accurate. Abhidhamma envisages a continual flow of consciousness arising and ceasing in every moment 'as if it were the stream of a river'.[16] We may note however that direct transition is envisaged from active mode to passive, but not from passive to active. In the latter case *kiriyā* mind must occur for one moment in order to turn *bhavaṅga* towards the object.

But what is the object at the mind door? Traditionally it may be any kind of object—past, present or future, purely conceptual or even transcendent. In the normal case, however, it will be either a memory of the past or some kind of concept. The door of its arising will be 'one part of the organ of mind reckoned as

bhavaṅga mind'.[17] To be more exact it is disturbed *bhavaṅga* (*bhavaṅga-calana*) in conjunction with adverting which constitutes the door of mind, often treated in Buddhist thought as a sixth sense. Of course abhidhamma avoids describing consciousness as divided into parts; it always prefers a description in terms of successive moments.

Undisturbed *bhavaṅga* is described as clear or translucent.[18] Evidently it is seen either as storing past experience or as having direct access to the past (or future). In the first case we might understand it as an unconscious storehouse. The mind as a whole is certainly envisaged as accumulating tendencies, but it is not clear how far this would include experiences. What is probably intended is a water metaphor. Just as an undisturbed pool or stream is clear and offers no obstruction to vision, so *bhavaṅga* mind is intrinsically clear and featureless. When the pool is disturbed it is no longer possible to see through it—the water which it contains is now visible. Similarly when *bhavaṅga* mind is disturbed, it is no longer translucent; some part of its content becomes visible. Possibly this would not be so much the mind's content as part of its potential capacity to know becoming realized.

Sense door process

It is more normal to explain the process involving sense perception first. The reason, no doubt, is the predominant part played by the senses in our ordinary life. Abhidhamma evidently conceives of them as conditioning a great part of our experience in a largely mechanical fashion. Technically this would be expressed by saying that five door *javana* is the foundation of mind door *javana*.[19] However sense door process involves a greater number of functions than mind door process and at first appears more complex in its operation. So it is appropriate to list these:

1. *Bhavaṅga* – this was described above, but without distinguishing disturbed *bhavaṅga* as a separate stage.

2. *Disturbed bhavaṅga* – this occurs for two moments only, due to the stimulus of a sense object. Strictly speaking the object enters the field of the mind sense. At exactly the same

moment sensory contact takes place with a physical impact (*ghaṭṭana*) upon the subtle matter which is the physical basis for the operation of sense consciousness.[20]

3. *Adverting* – the function of adverting to one of the sense doors is always undertaken by the *kiriyā* mind element, which has in fact no other function apart from turning the mind towards a sense. As was the case for mind door adverting, its duration is for one moment only.

4. *Seeing* – we will take this as our example for the senses. At this stage we are concerned with 'seeing only' with a minimal interpretative element. So this function is performed either by a visual consciousness which is the result of skilful action or by one which is the result of unskilful action. Which of the two it will be is determined by the nature of the object.[21] If it is the result of skilful action the neutral feeling which accompanies it will be subtle and will shade towards pleasant feeling. If it is the result of unskilful action that feeling will be inferior and will shade towards unpleasant feeling.[22] The same will be the case for hearing, tasting or smelling, but not for touching. Tactile sensation is conceived of as stronger. So body consciousness which is the result of skilful action is accompanied by a distinctive form of pleasant feeling, while unpleasant feeling invariably accompanies unskilful resultant body consciousness.

5. *Receiving* (*sampaṭicchana*) – this function is always performed by one of the two resultant mind elements. In fact mind element has only the role of enabling transit to and from a sense consciousness; the 'twice five' sense consciousnesses are invariably preceded by one moment of *kiriyā* mind element and invariably followed by one moment of resultant mind element. The point seems to be that the normal state of the mind is the flow of resultant consciousness. Sense consciousness is quite different to this. So an intermediary is required for the passage between the two. This is rendered very neatly by the simile of the thread. A ground spider extends thread in five directions making a web and settles down in the middle. When one of the threads is struck by an insect, it is disturbed and comes out from its resting place. It *follows along the thread*, drinks the juice of its prey, comes back and settles down in the very same place.[23]

6. *Examining* (*santīraṇa*) – this function is always carried out

TABLE TWO : EYE DOOR PROCESS

function	*bhavaṅga*	*disturbed bhavaṅga*	*adverting*	*seeing*	*receiving*	*investigating*	*determining*	*javana*	*tad-ārammaṇa*
citta	caused	caused	mind element	eye consciousness	mind element	causeless mind consciousness element	causeless mind consciousness element	skilful or unskilful	mind consciousness element
associated cetasikas	up to 33	up to 33	10	7	10	up to 11	11	up to 34 or up to 21	up to 33 (caused) up to 11 (causeless)
kammic status	result of action	result of action	neither act nor result of action	result of action	result of action	result of action	neither act nor result of action	action	result of action
duration	no definite limit	two moments	one moment	one moment	one moment	one moment	one moment	up to seven moments	one or two moments
feeling	pleasant or neutral	pleasant or neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	pleasant or neutral	neutral	pleasant unpleasant or neutral	pleasant or neutral

by one of the three resultant mind consciousness elements. In effect the mind has returned to a weak form of resultant consciousness which is able to examine the object. This can also be expressed by saying that the mental of recognition (*saññā*) is prominent at this stage of the process.

7. *Establishing* (*votthapana*) – is carried out by the *kiriyā* mind consciousness element. We may see it as enabling the arising of the active *javana* stage. The mind is now able to establish the nature of the object. It is often compared to smelling food prior to eating it. Establishing determines the nature of the mind's response to the object which has been identified.

8. *Javana* – was discussed above. It is compared to the act of actually eating the food.

9. *Tad-ārammaṇa* – was also discussed earlier. It resembles the act of savouring the taste of food after it has been eaten.

The most difficult part of the sense door process is probably to be found in stages four to seven, but it can perhaps be clarified by another of the traditional similes. Some village boys were sitting playing a game on the road with mud.[24] A square coin made contact with the hand of one of the boys. The boy asked what it was that had touched his hand. Another boy said that it was pale (*paṇḍara*). One boy took firm hold of it together with the mud. Another said that it was square and flat. Yet another declared that it was a silver crown (*kahāpaṇa*). They took it and gave it to their mother, who used it for some task (*kamma*). Taking hold of the coin is compared to the mind receiving an object. Identifying it as square and flat is like the stage of examining, while the stage of establishing resembles the decision that it is worth one crown. The actual utilization of the coin (by the mother) is similar to the mind performing the function of *javana*.

What are we to make of this? The implication is clear. Visual perception involves not only seeing itself, but also fixing of the object in the mind, recognition of its general features and identification of its nature. These things are obviously very closely linked. In abhidhamma such a close relationship tends to be expressed in process terms as a succession of moments. A very close connection will be a rapid and constant succession. This is exactly what we have here. Each single distinct visual perception involves a separate adverting, a separate seeing, a separate receiving, a

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separate examining and a separate establishing. Each of these occurs for one moment only. The five always occur together and always in the same logically required order of succession.

Some variations in the process

The same is not true for the five door process as a whole. Only for very great objects i.e. distinct percepts does the process complete all nine stages before lapsing back into *bhavaṅga*. If the sensory stimulus is weaker, then an incomplete process may occur. This is called a fruitless case (*mogha-vāra*). Three possibilities are allowed:

a) Innumerable objects occur at the sense doors without being strong enough to bring about adverting to one of the five doors. In this case only disturbed *bhavaṅga* will occur. Presumably the intention is to indicate that many of our sensory stimuli are not consciously registered.

b) The stimulus may be adequate to bring about adverting and the succeeding stages down to establishing. We are told that this is the kind of case in which one says: 'it is as if seen by me'.[25] What is meant here is probably the type of occasion in which one might say: 'I thought I saw someone among the trees.' Something has been identified but is not yet clearly seen.

c) A stronger stimulus may be sufficient to bring about all the stages down to *javana*, but not enough to produce the last stage. This is illustrated by a simile. The damming of a river is compared to adverting which diverts the mind from the flow of *bhavaṅga*. The series of process consciousnesses is compared to the diverted water running in a great irrigation channel. *Javana* is like the water flooding the fields on both sides of the channel. Lapsing back into *bhavaṅga* without the occurrence of *tad-ārammaṇa* resembles water running away through fissures back down to the river. We are told that there is no way to count the number of consciousnesses which do this.

Only one variation is permitted for the mind door process. If the object is clear the *tad-ārammaṇa* stage will arise. If it is not clear the mind will go back down to *bhavaṅga* immediately after the *javana* stage. The reason for this difference between

sense door and mind door process is apparent. Sense door process is aroused by the stimulus of a sense object and exists only in dependence upon such an object. It must then lapse if the object ceases to exist. The same is not the case for mind door process, whose object need not be of the present. The different forms of sense door process are due to variation in the *duration* of particular stimuli even if we experience this as varying vividness of perception. The two kinds of mind door process differ because of variation in the *clarity* of the object, the impulse as it were coming from within. In practice however the process which terminates with the *javana* stage must be experienced as a lack of perceptual clarity in either case.

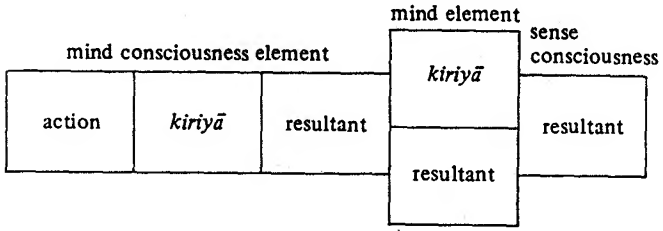
Obviously this is a rather simplified account of the abhidhamma theory of mental process. By excluding higher states of being from consideration much of the intended significance is lost. In fact a hierarchy of different states is involved. This is partly described in numerical terms—weaker states have fewer accompanying mentals than stronger states; skilful states tend to involve more mentals than unskilful ones. Still more important are qualitative differences, often only indicated by a single terminological change. For example supramundane consciousness may not necessarily have more accompanying mentals than a given *lokiya* skilful consciousness. Nevertheless it is qualitatively superior. Moreover each of its accompanying mentals is qualitatively superior to the same mental associated with the corresponding *lokiya* consciousness.

Sequential structure of the process

The simplified account does however have the advantage that it makes much clearer some significant features of the process. This is best shown by setting out the distribution of the forty five consciousnesses in grid form. In each section is given the number of possible types of consciousness together with the maximum number of accompanying mentals (in brackets).

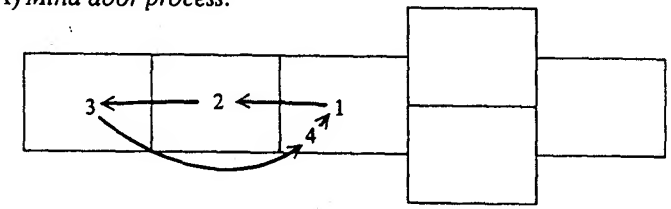
	Mind consciousness element	*Mind element*	*Eye consciousness element*
Skilful or Unskilful	twenty (34)	none	none
Kiriyā	one (11)	one (10)	none
Resultant	eleven (33)	two (10)	ten (7)

If we now rearrange this material slightly we can use it to form a picture of the way in which the process of mind works:

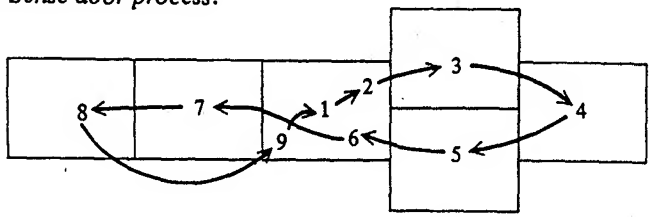


If we now set out the different possible sequences using the same numeration as before, we get:

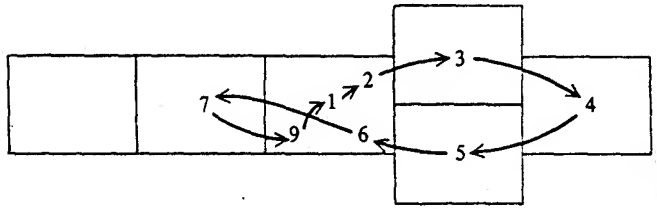
A) *Mind door process:*



B) *Sense door process:*



C) *Incomplete sense door process:*



Two points of particular importance emerge. Firstly any change from the normal passive state of mind (i.e. resultant mind consciousness element) is brought about by *kiriyā* mind. This alone can bring about the arising of skilful or unskilful *javana* mind and only this can turn the mind to a sensory mode. Secondly mind element always intervenes before and after a sense consciousness. The consequence of these and some other restrictions is to sharply limit the number of permissible successions between moments. This can be set out in tabular form:

permissible succession

	from unskilful	to	unskilful
	" unskilful	"	resultant
	" skilful	"	skilful
	" skilful	"	resultant
	" resultant	"	resultant
	" resultant	"	*kiriyā*
	" *kiriyā*	"	any
from	mind consciousness element	"	mind consciousness element
"	mind consciousness element	"	mind element
"	mind element	"	eye consciousness element
"	mind element	"	mind consciousness element
"	eye consciousness element	"	mind element

impermissible succession

	from unskilful	to	skilful
	" unskilful	"	*kiriyā*
	" skilful	"	unskilful
	" skilful	"	*kiriyā*
	" resultant	"	skilful
	" resultant	"	unskilful
from	mind consciousness element	"	eye consciousness element
"	mind element	"	mind element
"	eye consciousness element	"	eye consciousness element
"	eye consciousness element	"	mind consciousness element

The consciousness process before Buddhaghosa

All of this amounts to a fairly complex and sophisticated theory of mental processes. Naturally the question arises as to its origin. Sarathchandra writes:-

> The theory is quite unique in the history of Indian thought, and it was probably the work of Buddhaghosa who came to Ceylon after having immersed himself in Sanskrit philosophy.[26]

This seems a very unsatisfactory statement of the position. The clearest evidence that the theory was well-established in the older Sinhalese commentaries prior to Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta is perhaps to be found in the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, the commentary to the first book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. Here we find a long passage reproduced under the title of *Vipākuddhāra-kathā.*[27]

Careful reading of this piece, which takes up just over twenty pages in the PTS edition, shows that it is reproduced directly from an old source, almost certainly a Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathā.* It commences with what it calls a *mātikā*, which in this kind of context is in effect a table of contents. This gives three different enumerations of the various types of resultant mentality. These are attributed to three named Elders. It then immediately states: 'In this place they took what is called the *Sāketa Question*'. This records the traditional response to the question as to whether one *kamma* could have more than one resultant *citta* or vice versa.

Immediately after this we read: 'Again in this place what is called the *Explanation of Prominence* was taken. 'This is referred to by name in the *Visuddhi-magga,* where it is regarded as the authoritative decision following the thought of the Commentarial teachers (. . . *Aṭṭhakathācariyānaṃ matānusārena vinicchayo*).[28] After the *Explanation of Prominence* follows the *Explanation of Roots*. As the passage continues it becomes quite evident that the *Aṭṭhasālinī* has simply taken a section almost verbatim or perhaps slightly condensed from a rather formalized earlier source. Careful analysis would, I think, show some distinctive stylistic features. An earlier passage in the same commentary—the *Dvāra-kathā*, shows some of the same characteristics and is specifically attributed to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā.*[29]

Since these passages are in any case authoritative and revered, we may suppose that their source is likely to be of considerably earlier date. The work of Adikaram would tend to suggest that little was added to the Sinhalese commentaries after the second century A.D.[30] Even if Adikaram's conclusion's are not accepted it makes little difference in this case. Not only does the *Vipā-kuddhāra-kathā* contain a very detailed account of the *citta-vīthi*. Even the differences between the views of the three Elders imply an elaborate theory of the consciousness process forming the basis of their discussion.

The Elders concerned are not unknown to us from other commentarial sources. So it is probably safe to assume that they are historical figures who actually did hold the views attributed to them. In that case we should expect to find the fully elaborated theory of the *citta-vīthi* already developed in the early first century A.D. This appears to be the view of A.K. Warder.[31]

The consciousness process and the Paṭṭhāna

Should we then take it that the theory originated with these Elders and their immediate predecessors? Or does it have a basis in the canonical abhidhamma literature? Ñāṇamoli writes: 'An already-formed nucleus of the cognitive series, based on such *Sutta-piṭaka* material, appears in the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka.*'[32] In support of this statement he cites passages from the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Paṭṭhāna*, but he does not appear to have attempted a serious analysis of the contents of the last-named—the final work of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* in the traditional order.

If this is undertaken, the result is rather unexpected. So far from being a later elaboration on the basis of the canonical abhidhamma material, the theory of the *citta-vīthi* appears as only a slight restatement of the *Paṭṭhāna* with minor changes in terminology. Obviously this needs to be argued in detail.

The format of *Paṭṭhāna* is somewhat forbidding, although some of the essential principles involved seem clear enough. The work introduces for the first time in Pali literature the twenty four types of relation (*paccaya*). These are illustrated by applying them to the twenty two triplets and one hundred

couplets of the *abhidhamma-mātikā*—the mnemonic key which structures the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and is employed in the *Vibhaṅga* and *Dhātu-kathā*. The permutations and combinations involved are rather more complex than this. Warder calls it: 'one of the most amazing productions of the human mind'.[33] Fortunately most of the details are unnecessary for the present purpose.

We need only concern ourselves initially with two triplets, one couplet and one of the relations. The triplets are: 1. producing results; resultant; neither producing results nor resultant and 2. pleasant feeling; unpleasant feeling; neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling. The couplet is: caused; causeless. The only relation needed is the relation of succession (*anantara-paccaya*).

From the resultant triplet under the heading 'resultant dhamma related to dhamma neither producing results nor resultant by succession relation' we learn that '*bhavaṅga* is related to adverting by succession relation'.[34] From this it is apparent that *bhavaṅga* is some kind of resultant consciousness, while adverting is some kind of *kiriyā* mentality. The very fact that these terms are used indicates that they designate a group of *cittas* for which no alternative designation is available in the *Paṭṭhāna*. The commentarial usage of *bhavaṅga* which covers all kinds of resultant mentality except resultant mind element and causeless mind consciousness element with pleasant feeling would seem exactly suitable.

Adverting is already referred to as a function of mind element in the *Vibhaṅga*.[35] So we might expect the *kiriyā* mind element to be referred to here. However in the commentarial account given above we saw that the causeless *kiriyā* mind consciousness element (with neutral feeling) performs this function in a mind door process. The *Paṭṭhāna* is clearly of the same view and therefore required a special term in order to exclude the same element with pleasant feeling; for according to the commentaries this does not perform the function of adverting.

In the same triplet under the heading of 'dhamma neither producing results nor resultant is related to dhamma producing results by succession relation' we read: 'Adverting is related to fivefold consciousness by succession relation'. This seems quite clear as it stands. From the same triplet and relation we learn that: 'Fivefold consciousness is related to resultant mind element

by succession relation' and 'Resultant mind element is related to resultant mind consciousness element by succession relation'. Here the commentaries restrict the resultant mind consciousness element concerned to the causeless types. From the same source we obtain: 'Resultant mind consciousness element is related to *kiriyā* mind consciousness element by succession relation'.

Later in the same portion of the *Paṭṭhāna* we find that: 'Adverting is related to aggregates which are dhammas producing results by succession relation', 'Preceding aggregates which are dhammas producing results are related to subsequent aggregates which are dhammas producing results by succession relation', 'Aggregates which are dhammas producing results [are related] to emergence . . . by succession relation' and 'Preceding resultant aggregates are related to subsequent resultant aggregates by succession relation'. Nowhere does the *Paṭṭhāna* permit succession from resultant to producing results nor does it allow succession from producing results to neither producing results nor resultant. The similarity to the tables of permissible and impermissible succession given above is manifest.

Additional information can be added by turning to the feeling triplet.[36] *Bhavaṅga* can have either pleasant or neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling, but adverting can only have neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling. The resultant mind consciousness element which follows resultant mind element may have pleasant feeling. The *kiriyā* mind consciousness which succeeds in turn must have neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling. Emergence (*vuṭṭhāna*) may have either pleasant or neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling.

From the caused couplet we can add:[37] 'Caused *bhavaṅga* [is related to] causeless adverting by succession relation', and vice versa; 'Caused *bhavaṅga* [is related to] causeless *bhavaṅga* by succession relation', and vice versa; 'Caused aggregates [are related to] causeless emergence by succession relation'; 'Causeless aggregates [are related to] caused emergence by succession relation'; [Causeless] adverting to caused aggregates'; '[Causeless] adverting to the [causeless] five consciousnesses'.

In fact almost all the stages of the consciousness process are precisely specified in the *Paṭṭhāna*. So much so that it is clear that we should attribute the theory to the canonical abhidhamma

tradition–if not to the earlier abhidhamma then at least to the tradition or authors embodied in the *Paṭṭhāna*. Only a small amount of the technical nomenclature, some details and one significant development appear to be later.

The distinction between mind door and sense door process is known, although those terms are not used. Each of the separate functions is shown. This is best illustrated from the sense door process. *Bhavaṅga* is known by name, but that name is only used where it is needed to avoid ambiguity. In cases where the same statement can be accurately applied both to *javana* and to *bhavaṅga* the two stages are subsumed as 'aggregates' or they may be distinguished as e.g. 'skilful aggregates' and 'resultant aggregates'. The theory of *bhavaṅga* is however fully developed.

The rootless *kiriyā* consciousnesses with neutral feeling are already termed adverting. The succeeding sense consciousnesses are termed the five consciousnesses and succeeded by resultant mind element, which is in turn followed by resultant mind consciousness element with either neutral or pleasant feeling. After this comes *kiriyā* mind consciousness element with neutral feeling, which when specified as adverting is rootless and succeeded by the variety of states which the later tradition calls *javana*. Apart from the last each of these lasts for only one moment. Indeed the *Paṭṭhāna* even allows for the fruitless case in which establishing is unable to bring about the arising of *javana* and simply repeats for one moment.[38] It does not however specify the duration.

The specific names are absent for only three of the functions: receiving, investigating and establishing. Significantly the *mahā-ṭīkā* to the *Visuddhimagga* comments:[39]

> For those who do not accept the process *cittas* beginning with receiving as well as the heart base, the text (*pāḷi*) has been handed down in various places with the words beginning 'for receiving, for eye consciousness element'; for the text cannot be set aside.

Unfortunately the text to which the *mahā-ṭīkā* refers is not known to us. The functions of receiving, investigating and establishing are not known from any surviving canonical work. In several commentaries there is a mnemonic verse listing the seven

functions from *bhavaṅga* to *javana*;[40] no doubt this belongs to the period of the old Sinhalese commentaries if not earlier. The term *javana* is taken from the canonical *Paṭisambhidā-magga*,[41] where it is used in a similar sense. In any case the term adds little to the usage of the *Paṭṭhāna* apart from brevity. This is perhaps the significant contribution of the later terminology.

The *Paṭṭhāna* does not usually use the term *tad-ārammaṇa*. Normally what the later tradition refers to in this way is simply designated *bhavaṅga*–the after-*bhavaṅga* of the commentaries. Often however the *Paṭṭhāna* employs the expression 'emergence' (*vuṭṭhāna*) for *bhavaṅga* and *tad-ārammaṇa* indiscriminately. This is obviously an extension of the older usage of *vuṭṭhāna* to refer to emergence from *jhāna*. Such an extension is quite appropriate since the *jhānas* consist of a series of *javana cittas*; so emergence from *jhāna* constitutes the departure from *javana* par excellence. The *Paṭṭhāna* does however use the expression *vipāko tad-ārammaṇatā uppajjati* in its treatment of object relation (*ārammaṇa-paccaya*).[42] This must be the source of the later usage. Clearly emergence or *bhavaṅga* would be inappropriate here.

By the time of the Sinhalese commentaries two kinds of *tad-ārammaṇa* are distinguished under the names of root *bhavaṅga* and visiting *bhavaṅga*.[43] The term root *bhavaṅga* properly speaking should refer to that specific type of resultant consciousness which constantly recurs throughout the life of a given individual whenever there is no process at either the mind door or one of the sense doors. It is here extended to include a *tad-ārammaṇa* of the same type even although this would have a different object. However this is obviously closer to the usage of the *Paṭṭhāna*.

It is not in fact quite clear that the *Paṭṭhāna* knows the theory by which each individual has a single basic *bhavaṅga* mind throughout his lifespan. It is this theory which necessitates the distinction of a separate stage of *tad-ārammaṇa*. Many of our earlier sources are a little inconsistent in this regard. The mnemonic verse mentioned above does not include *tad-ārammaṇa* and neither do most of the traditional similes. There is even some uncertainty as to exactly how many moments of *tad-ārammaṇa* can occur–the *Visuddhimagga* records two different traditions on the matter.[44] It may well be the case that the debates recorded

in the *Vipākuddhāra-kathā* reveal the process by which the somewhat later theory of *tad-ārammaṇa* was finally formulated.

The *Paṭṭhāna* itself envisages only that kammically active stages arise and persist for a while. It does not specify seven moments as the maximum duration. It certainly envisages a return to a resultant consciousness. This may be one under the influence of the active aggregates which have just subsided or it may be one of a more long lasting kind. It does not however seem to specify the latter to be unchangeable or lifelong, but the possibility that this is what is intended cannot be ruled out.

Conclusion

It is clear that the theory of the consciousness process is well established in the *Paṭṭhāna*, a work which cannot be later than the second century B.C. To what extent it is to be found in earlier works such as the *Vibhaṅga* remains an open question, but the theory is not a product of the commentarial stage. It belongs rather to the classic abhidhamma.

With such a dating we need also to look again at its possible role in the development of Indian thought. If we assume that at least the idea of *bhavaṅga* mind was current also in other South Indian schools,[45] then the question should be asked as to what influence similar ideas may have had on the early Vijñānavāda.

MANCHESTER L. S. COUSINS

Notes

This article is a revised version of a paper originally presented in April 1977 at the Third Symposium on Indian Religions, Durham.

1 E. Lamotte, 'Traité de la démonstration de l'acte', *MCB* IV, 1936, p.250; 'L'Ālayavijñāna dans le Mahāyānasaṃgraha', *MCB*, III, 1935, pp.207–15; *La somme du grand véhicule*, II, Louvain, Muséon, 1938, pp.24 foll., 8* foll.; L. De La Vallée Poussin, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi : La Siddhi de Hiuan-Tsang*, I, Paris, 1928, pp.179, 196, 198.
2 (Ce 1954) p.17.

3 A. Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Paris, EFEO, 1955, p.183.
4 O. H. de Wijesekera ('Canonical references to bhavaṅga', in Wijesekera, *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo, 1976, pp.348–52) has put forward an interesting defence of the reading *bhavaṅgam* at A II 79. On balance, however, it seems that Buddhaghosa's reading of *bhavaggaṃ* is preferable in view of A III 202 where *bhavānaṃ aggo* is interpreted along the lines of his comment on *bhavaggaṃ*; cf. also S III 83. However it is quite likely that in the orthography of Pāli manuscripts in Brahmī script such as Buddhaghosa would have had before him, the readings *bhavaṅga* and *bhavagga* would be indistinguishable.
5 Mil 299–300.
6 A. B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1923, p.194.
7 E. R. Sarathchandra, *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*, Colombo, Ceylon University Press, 1958, p.79.
8 Nett 79.
9 Peṭ 98.
10 See the introductions to his PTS translations of Nett and Peṭ.
11 Nett Introduction p.XXXII.
12 Vism 460.
13 The *Visuddhimagga* gives a very systematic account. The three main passages occur in its treatment of the consciousness aggregate (Vism 457–60), in its description of the arising of consciousness as the third link of the dependent origination formula (Vism 546 foll.) and also in the discussion of *arūpa-sammasana* (Vism 617–8). It is nevertheless clear that the *Aṭṭhasālinī* preserves earlier material, particularly in the *Vipākuddhāra-kathā* (As 267–87) and to some extent also in the *Dvāra-kathā* (As 82–106). Both of these sources were obviously drawn upon for the Suttanta commentaries also. Notable however is the comment on *sampajañña* at Sv I 194–5, Ps I 262–3, Spk III 191–2, Vibh-a 355–6; Mp III 199 cites Sv.
14 Vism 456.
15 As 271; Vism 547.
16 Vism 458, cf. 554.
17 Vism 483 (mhṭ) = Moh 126; Spk I 180; II 358; It-a I 101; Paṭis-a I 79.
18 As 140; 262; 308; cf. Paṭis I 80; Paṭis-a I 293–4; Ps I 167; Mp I 60 foll.; Dhp-a I 23.
19 Sv-pṭ to Sv I 194 (*mūla-pariññā*).
20 As 72; Vism 617; Moh 21.
21 As 269 foll.; 292–3; Vism 458; 546; Sv III 1037; Spk I 151; Vbh-a 9; Ud-a 203.
22 Vism 456.
23 As 279.
24 As 280–1.
25 As 269; cf. Vism 459; 617; Ps II 226.

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26 Sarathchandra, *op. cit.*, p.49.
27 As 267–87.
28 Vism 103–4.
29 As 82–106.
30 E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, Gunasena, 1953, pp. 1–42.
31 A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, pp.321–5.
32 Vism Trsl. p.131 n.; cf. also p.515 n.
33 Warder *op. cit.*, p.309.
34 The truncated PTS edition (Tikap) omits; see U Nārada, *Conditional Relations* (CR I), PTS, 1969, pp.406–7 and Paṭṭh I (Ce 1954) 260.
35 Vibh 89: *sabbadhammesu . . . . paṭhamasamannāhāro*, cf. Moh 128.
36 Tikap 324–6; CR I 338–40.
37 Dukap 45–6; Paṭṭh II (Ce 1954) 668.
38 Tikap-a 259–60; CR I 416.
39 Vism-mhṭ (Ce 1930) 479: *Ye hadaya-vatthu viya sampaṭicchanâdi-vīthi-cittāni pi nânujānanti, tesaṃ: 'sampaṭicchanāya cakkhu-viññāṇa-dhātuyā' ti ādinā tattha tattha pāḷi āgatā; na hi sakkā pāḷiṃ paṭisedhetuṃ.*
40 Sv I 194; Ps I 262; Spk III 191; Vibh-a 355.
41 Paṭis I 80–1.
42 e.g. Tikap 155; CR I 143.
43 As 270–1; 276; 285; 287; 360; Tikap 347; Spk III 71; Abhidh-av 50–1.
44 Vism 547; cf. Vism 459; As 265.
45 Buddhaghosa (Kv-a 219) certainly attributes such views to the Andhakas. We should perhaps think of the *mūla-vijñāna* which Asaṅga attributes to the Mahāsāṅghikas. It is not certain how far Buddhaghosa is correct in seeing Kv chap. X, 1 as referring to *bhavaṅga.*

A NEW THERAVĀDIN LITURGY

The texts so far published by the P.T.S. have all been derived from written sources. We shall here present a text acquired orally, though we have also made use of printed pamphlets. Theravāda Buddhist liturgical texts are few, and those used in Sri Lanka have hitherto been entirely in Pali. The text presented here is partly in Pali, partly in Sinhala. In content there is nothing radically new, but the religious service at which this text is used has a distinctive flavour which ever larger numbers of Sinhalese Buddhists find appealing.

The service has been invented and the text assembled, and in part composed, by a young monk called Pānadurē Ariyadhamma. The service he calls an *Aṭavisi Buddha Pūjā* ('Worship of the Twenty-eight Buddhas'), or simply a *Buddha Pūjā*, but it has become popularly known as a *Bōdhi Pūjā*, and we shall see that this reflects a misunderstanding. So far most of the public performances of this *Buddha pūjā* have either been conducted by the Ven. Ariyadhamma himself or have used tape recordings of him, so that it is not yet possible to say whether the service can become popular without his participation as its leader. Not only does he have a most pleasing appearance and personal presence; his voice is extremely mellifluous and he chants in a musical way which contrasts strikingly with the usual clerical drone. When you mention the Ven. Ariyadhamma to people, his voice is usually the first thing they talk of. Those who know him personally, however, are devoted to him for more solid reasons: he radiates calm and kindness, and appears in his conduct to come as close as possible to the Buddhist ideal. He does not collect possessions, and every month when he has been conducting *Buddha pūjā* and the congregations in homage have presented him with masses of goods (mainly sets of the eight requisites, the conventional offering to a monk on such an occasion) he gives it all away to other monks. He does not even own proprietary rights (*ayitivāsikama*) in any monastery. He devotes himself to the religious life, both to preaching and to meditation (necessarily concentrating on the two activities in

JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Lal	Lalita-vistara, ed. S. Lefmann, 2 vols, Halle, 1902, 1908.
MCB	Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Bruxelles, 1931-
MPS	Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, 3 vols, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1950-51
MR & Ill	Minor Readings and Illustrator (= trsln of Pj I)
Mvu	Mahāvastu, ed. É. Senart, 3 vols, Paris, 1882, 1890, 1897
n(n).	note(s)
Ne	Nāgarī edition
p(p).	page(s)
PED	PTS's Pali-English Dictionary
Pkt.	Prakrit
P-S	Peta-Stories (trsln of Pv-a)
PTS	Pali Text Society
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
Skt	Sanskrit
s.v(v).	under the heading(s)
T	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, 55 vols, Tōkyō, 1924-29
Toev	H. Kern, Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers, 2 parts, Amsterdam, 1916
trsln(s)	translation(s)
v.l(l).	variant reading(s)
w.r.	wrong reading
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

THE THERAVĀDINS AND EAST INDIA ACCORDING TO THE CANONICAL TEXTS

The close relations between the Theravādins and east India in the seventh century A.D. are well known through the concurring testimonies of the two great Chinese travellers Hsüan-tsang and I-ching.

The former, who visited India in the second quarter of the seventh century, records their presence in Samataṭa, that is, in the Ganges delta, where together with two thousand recluses living in more than thirty monasteries[1] they formed the Buddhist community. Unfortunately, he does not state to which school the thousand or more monks, inhabiting more than ten monasteries, belonged. He met them in the neighbouring region to the west, around the famous port of Tāmralipti from whence one could embark for Ceylon. However, it can reasonably be supposed that a good part of them, if not all, were also Theravādins.[2]

According to Hsüan-tsang, the northern part of east India, in particular the regions of Īraṇaparvata (around the present-day town of Monghyr)[3] and Karṇasuvarṇa (just to the north of the Ganges delta) were, on the contrary, under the sway of the Sammatīyas.[4]

At the end of the same century, I-ching, whose information is unfortunately much too general and imprecise, declared that the Sthaviras, that is the Theravādins, were then living in east India with the other great Buddhist schools, the Mahāsāṃghikas, Mūlasarvāstivādins and Sammatīyas.[5] This would seem to mean that none of these four main groups which then comprised the Community clearly prevailed over the others in the number of its adherents in this region, the Theravādins no more than the others.

There is no serious reason to question the information thus supplied by the two famous Chinese pilgrims, but it would be helpful to know how long the Theravādins had been settled in east India, in exactly which places, and what was the broad outline of the history of their relationship with that region.

As ill luck would have it, the historiographers of this school, who have preserved so many precious details for us about the

evolution of the Theravādin community of Ceylon in the *Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa* and *Cūḷavaṃsa*, remain completely silent about the events which must have stood out as landmarks in the life of the Theravādin monasteries established in other regions, particularly in east India. If learned monks residing in some of these establishments edited annals similar to those which distinguish Sinhalese Pali literature, their works have long since been lost and all memory of them obliterated.

Furthermore, while Buddhist epigraphy has furnished much precise information about the presence of various early schools in most of the Indian territory, such as Ceylon, up to the present it has remained silent with regard to east India. No document has yet been discovered which attests the presence of the Theravādins, or of any other school, in this vast region, so that, were it not for the testimonies of Hsüan-tsang and I-ching, it could be doubted that this part of India was converted to Buddhism before it was governed by the Pāla kings from the eighth century on.

We would therefore know nothing of the history of ancient Buddhism, and more particularly that of the Theravādins, in east India had the canonical texts, in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese translation, not given us some indications. Certainly, these are few and the facts which they supply can in no way be accepted as solid historical evidence in the form in which they have reached us. However, by comparing the parallel texts belonging to different schools, Theravādin naturally, but also Sarvāstivādin, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and others, by examining where they agree and differ, some information can be found about the presence of Buddhist communities in that part of India at the time when these canonical texts were gradually being compiled, that is, approximately during the last four centuries B.C.

The case of Ukkala, which corresponds to the northern part of present-day Orissa, is particularly clear. While the people bearing this name and the territory they inhabited are well-known to Hindu sources, to the two great Epics and the *Purāṇas*, the early Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translation ignore them completely as do even those which have been handed down to us in their Sanskrit original, with perhaps one exception. Conversely, the Pali suttas mention them several times, which proves that the Theravādins knew of them.

At the beginning of the famous story of the meeting between the Buddha and the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka in Uruvelā, shortly after the Enlightenment, the Pali version states that these two men came from Ukkala,[6] while the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and Mūlasarvāstivādin versions breathe not a word about that.[7] Only the *Mahāvastu*, which belongs to the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas, contains this same detail,[8] but this work was completed much later than the Theravādins' *Vinaya-piṭaka* and it can therefore be assumed that we have here a borrowing from the tradition which the Pali text had itself made use of much earlier. In other words, it is the story contained in the Pali *Vinaya-piṭaka* which is the oldest of our sources which have the two merchants come from the country of the Ukkalas.

Other Pali texts contain further information about these people. In the three suttas entitled *Mahācattārīsaka, Paribbājaka* and *Upādiyamāṇa*,[9] the Buddha denounces the false opinions held by the Ukkalas, who denied the moral causality on which the fruition of actions is founded. In fact, only the first of these three texts has a parallel in the sūtras of the other schools and moreover it, preserved in Chinese translation, makes no allusion to the Ukkalas.[10]

Consequently, of all the early schools which appeared before the beginning of the Christian era and of which we possess canonical works in their original language, Pali or Sanskrit, or in their Chinese version, that of the Theravādins is the only one to mention these people at the ancient time when these texts were composed. As we have just seen, the passages in which the Ukkalas are referred to are, even so, very few and this seems to indicate that the Theravādins still did not know that people and their country very well, that their relations with them were still recent and weak, and that the monks of this school were few in number. Perhaps also the beliefs of the Ukkalas were both too different from those of the Buddhists and too strong in the minds of those people, as is shown by the three Pali suttas mentioned above, for the monks' efforts at converting them to have had much success. This country would therefore seem to have been, for the Theravādin recluses, simply a region through which they had to pass in order to reach other more welcoming ones, a region where they

came up against the indifference of the inhabitants, though perhaps not their hostility.

As we have seen above, the Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, with whom the Theravādins were closely allied, seem to have been completely unaware of the Ukkalas before the Christian era, if one can judge from their versions of the episode of the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka. Since the Mahīśāsakas, from whom would later emerge the Dharmaguptakas, separated from the Theravādins towards the end of the third century B.C., the addition of the mention of the Ukkalas in the Pali version of this episode is evidently later than this date, and it can be deduced from this that the Theravādins began to be interested in these people and their country at the beginning of the second century.

It is the same for the country of the Sumbhas, Suhmas in Sanskrit, which was seemingly to be found immediately to the west and north-west of the Ganges delta, therefore to the north-west of the territory inhabited by the Ukkalas. In fact, only the Chinese version of the *Thapatayo-sutta*, belonging to the Sarvāstivādin *Saṃyukta-āgama*, mentions it incidentally, alongside the regions peopled by the Puṇḍras and Kaliṅgas, by the Mallas, Magadhas and Aṅgas, among the countries which were successively crossed by the two laymen Ṛṣidatta and Purāṇa in search of the Buddha.[11] Conversely, the Theravādins locate among the Sumbhas, more exactly in a town called Desaka, two scenes of the Blessed One's life, narrated in the *Udāyī-sutta* and the *Janapada-sutta*,[12] in which the Buddha teaches certain points of doctrine to some of his monks. This enables us to think that the Theravādins knew this region better than the adherents of other early Buddhist schools, and even that they established themselves there, notably in Desaka, during the last two centuries B.C., after they had separated from the other schools.

The town of Kajaṅgala also seems to have belonged to the Sumbhas, or at least to have adjoined their territory. It was most probably to be found, as Cunningham thought, on the site of present-day Rajmahal, formerly called Kankjol, on the right bank of the Ganges, 85km to the east-south-east of Bhagalpur. According to the *Vinaya-piṭakas* of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, it marked the eastern frontier of the Madhyadeśa, Central India as it was conceived by the Indians of antiquity.[13] The Sarvāstivādins

are in agreement with the Theravādins in locating two scenes of the Blessed One's life there, as told in the *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta*[14] and the *Mahāpañha-sutta*:[15] in the one the Buddha has a discussion with a young heterodox recluse and, in the other, he praises the explanations given to the local laity by a pious Buddhist nun whose name proves that she inhabits the town in question. It can therefore be assumed that Kajaṅgala was known to the Buddhist monks from before the reign of Aśoka, under whose rule the schism which divided the Sarvāstivādins from the Theravādins occurred. At that time, this town probably marked the eastern frontier of the advance both of Buddhism and of brahmanical civilization and, if the Buddha's disciples did come there, they cannot have been many in number or their visits frequent. As for the rest, Kajaṅgala was only a small township, established in a region which was still little inhabited and barely cultivated, where the monks would have found neither many laymen to convert nor plentiful supplies.

Kaliṅga, present-day Orissa between the deltas of the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, first appears in the final stanzas of the Pali version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*,[16] which mention the possession of one of the Buddha's canine-teeth by the king of that country. Even if none of the four versions of this sūtra preserved in Chinese translation, including that of the Dharmaguptakas, contains this verse,[17] we find it again in the Sanskrit version of the same text, a version which belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivādins[18] and which was completed very much later than the other five. The tradition according to which the king of the Kaliṅgas would have possessed one of the Blessed One's teeth is therefore very late, after the schism which divided the Theravādins from the Dharmaguptakas, or more exactly from the Mahīśāsakas from whom the latter emerged a little later. It is later than the end of the third century B.C. and, with all the more reason, than the reign of Aśoka who conquered the country of the Kaliṅgas and opened it up to Buddhist propaganda. Furthermore the same stanza, in both its Pali and Sanskrit versions, states that another of the Buddha's teeth was preserved 'in the town of the Gandhāras', at the other end of the Mauryan empire, which was converted to Buddhism in Aśoka's reign. Quite a considerable time, in fact several decades, must have elapsed between the

introduction of Buddhism to the Kaliṅgas and the Gandhāras, following their conquest, and the formation of the legend recorded by the stanza in question which locates sanctuaries containing particularly venerable relics in these two places.

The canonical texts, in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese translation, contain other passages concerning the Kaliṅgas, but always in the form of legends in the very characteristic style of the Jātakas, recorded in a stupendously remote past. Some are narrated in the Pali and Chinese versions of the *Mahāgovinda-sūtra*[19] as well as in the *Mahāvastu*,[20] others are found in the much later collections of the Jātakas[21] properly speaking.

Apart from the final verse of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* noting the presence of one of the Buddha's canine-teeth among the Kaliṅgas according to a tradition which can scarcely go back further than the beginning of the second century B.C., this region is therefore only mentioned by the canonical texts in connection with legends situated in a fabulously remote past. Furthermore, this stanza and these legends were known to both the Theravādins and the other early schools: the verse was added to the Pali version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* as well as to its Sanskrit one, which belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivādins; the legend of King Reṇu was inserted in the Theravādin and Dharmaguptaka versions of the *Mahāgovinda-sūtra*. Finally, no canonical text, Pali or otherwise, places the country of the Kaliṅgas in direct relation to the events of the life of the Buddha or of his great disciples; no story shows us the Blessed One or one of his monks coming to expound the Doctrine of Salvation to the Kaliṅgas, or one of the latter going to the Ganges Valley to hear their instruction.

So therefore, even in the last two centuries B.C., the Theravādins did not know that country or its inhabitants any better than did the other Buddhist schools. For the Theravādins as for the other Buddhists, the country of the Kaliṅgas was still a foreign region, where the religion of the Blessed One met with hardly any success and which merited only the setting of some legends of the Jātaka type there. We even get the impression that, for reasons of which we are unaware, the monks, to whatever school they belonged, neglected to convert its inhabitants and avoided going through it. Much later, when Hsüan-tsang

travelled through that country, he noticed a similar situation, for in his time there were very few Buddhists among the Kaliṅgas who, on the contrary, showed themselves to be very devout towards the other religions, Hinduism and Jainism.

In short, the most prominent fact illustrating the presence of Buddhism among the Kaliṅgas was that of the Blessed One's famous canine-tooth which, according to a post-canonical tradition, was said to be preserved in the capital, justly called Dantapura, 'Town of the Tooth'. The existence of this celebrated relic is confirmed by the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, according to which it was brought to Anurādhapura, the capital of Ceylon, in the ninth year of the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, that is, in 370 A.D., by a brahman woman.[22] Without wishing to cast a slur on the beliefs of Sinhalese Buddhists who since then have made it one of the main objects of their homage and the palladium of their ancient kings, it is reasonable to be sceptical about the authenticity of this object. In fact, no allusion to this canine-tooth is found in the six versions (including that of the Theravādins) of the canonical account of the distribution of the Buddha's relics after the cremation of his body, an account which itself indeed appears to be based much more on legend than on history. It cannot be doubted that for many centuries the Sinhalese have revered a tooth which they attribute to the Buddha, and it can be accepted that it was brought to Ceylon in the year 370. What, however, can be doubted is that the tooth given to King Sirimeghavaṇṇa by the brahman woman was indeed the one which had been preserved in Dantapura, and there is room for much more scepticism over the origin of that canine-tooth, over its belonging to the Blessed One's body, and over the circumstances which could have brought it from the Buddha's funeral pyre to the capital of the Kaliṅgas, all matters about which only very late and highly suspect legends claim to inform us.[23]

An examination of the canonical texts thus permits us to extract the following facts as to the relations between the Theravādins and east India in the last three centuries B.C. At the beginning of the third century, the small town of Kajaṅgala was the easternmost of all those where Buddhist monks, belonging to a Community still little divided by schisms, went to expound their doctrine, and perhaps they had already converted some of

of its inhabitants. A century later, the Theravādins, separated from the Sarvāstivādins and then from the Mahīśāsakas, travelled through the regions situated to the south of Kajaṅgala, the country of the Sumbhas and that of the Ukkalas. They thus followed the new communication routes connecting the middle Ganges basin, where the Blessed One had lived and where the oldest and most revered places of pilgrimage were to be found, with the ports established in the Ganges and Mahānadī deltas, from whence one could embark for southern India and Ceylon, which were soon to become the main spheres of influence of those very same Theravādins. At that time, the countries of the Sumbhas and Ukkalas were doubtless still little cultivated or urbanized, where the teaching of the Buddhist doctrine had few chances of success. The situation was worse in the country of the Kaliṅgas, to the south-west of the Mahānadī delta, since, despite the conquest which Aśoka made over it at the beginning of his reign, Buddhism was never implanted or prosperous there. However, as that region was not crossed by such important routes for the pilgrims as the countries of the Sumbhas and Ukkalas, the Buddhist monks, and notably the Theravādins, seem to have neglected it.

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Notes

1 Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904, II, p. 187; T 2087, p. 927*c*.
2 *Ibid*, II, pp. 189-90; T 2087, p. 928*a*.
3 *Ibid*, II, p. 178; T 2087, p. 926*a*.
4 *Ibid*, II, p. 191; T 2087, p. 928*a*.
5 J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford, 1896, p. 7 foll.; T 2125, p. 205*a-b*.
6 Vin I 3 foll.
7 T 1421, p. 103*a*; T 1428, pp. 781*c*-782*a*; T 1450, p. 125*a*.
8 Mvu III 303.
9 *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*, M III 78; *Paribbājaka-sutta*, A II 31; *Upādiyamāna-sutta*, S III 72.
10 T 26, p. 735*b*.
11 T 99, p. 218*c*; *Thapatayo-sutta*, S V 348.
12 *Udāyī-sutta*, S V 89; *Janapada-sutta*, S V 169.

13 Vin I 197; T 1435, p. 182*a*.
14 M III 298; T 99, p. 78*a*.
15 A V 54; Av-ś II 41.
16 D II 194.
17 T 1, p. 30*a*; T 5, p. 174*c*; T 6, p. 190*c*; T 7, p. 207*c*.
18 MPS III 450.
19 D II 228-36; T 1, p. 31*b*.
20 Mvu III 197-209; 361-9.
21 Ja II 367; III 3; 376; IV 228; V 119; 135; 144.
22 Mhv 37.92.
23 Dāṭh.